STUDIA ARCHAEOLOGICA ET LINGUISTICA

Miscellanea in honorem annos LXXV peragentis Professoris Adriani Poruciuc oblata

edidērunt

Dan Aparaschivei

Alexandru Berzovan

IAȘI 2023

STUDIA ARCHAEOLOGICA ET LINGUISTICA

Miscellanea in honorem annos LXXV peragentis
Professoris Adriani Poruciuc oblata

•

Ediderunt

DAN APARASCHIVEI **ALEXANDRU BERZOVAN**

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Dan Aparaschivei (**b. 1976, Pașcani**), senior scientific researcher at the Romanian Academy – Iași Branch, Institute of Archaeology. Specialist in the history and archeology of the Roman and Late Roman era in the Lower Danube region. He has published and edited 10 volumes and published over 60 papers and studies. He received the award "A.D. Xenopol" of the Romanian Academy for the book *Orașele romane de la Dunărea Inferioară (secolele I-III) [Roman cities from the Lower Danube (1st - 3rd centuries)]*, University Ed. Al. I. Cuza, Iași, 2010. He is an active member of several scientific committees and professional associations in Romania and Europe. Coordinates systematic archaeological research on the Ibida and Aegyssus sites (Moesia Inferior/Scythia province), along with numerous preventive archaeological research in the eastern region of Romania.

Alexandru Berzovan (b. 1986, Caransebeș), scientific researcher at the Romanian Academy – Iași Branch, Institute of Archaeology. Has concerns about the Late Iron Age, currently dealing with the East-Carpathian Romanian space. Participant in numerous national and international conferences, published several books, volumes and studies at prestigious publishing houses and journals in country and abroad (see vol. *At the Borders of the Great Steppe. Early Late Iron Age Hillforts between the Eastern Carpathians and Prut*, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2022). In 2018 was awarded the excelency prize of the Romanian Academy.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

ROMANIAN ACADEMY
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY IAȘI

STUDIA ARCHAEOLOGICA ET LINGUISTICA

Miscellanea in honorem annos LXXV peragentis Professoris Adriani Poruciuc oblata

Ediderunt

DAN APARASCHIVEI   ALEXANDRU BERZOVAN

PRESA UNIVERSITARĂ CLUJEANĂ
2023

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Honoraria, 16
Redigit: Victor SPINEI

Scientific Referees:

Acad. Victor Spinei,
Romanian Academy, Institute of Archaeology Iași

Dr. Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici,
Senior scientific researcher Romanian Academy,
Institute of Archaeology Iași

Editors Note: *The responsability for the scientific content of the studies belongs exclusively to the authors*

Front Cover: *The large eagle-headed fibula of the the Pietroasa hoard* (after Al. Odobesco: *Le trésor de Petrossa. Etude sur l'orfèvrerie antique – deuxième partie,* Paris, 1896)

DTP: Cătălin Hriban

Descrierea CIP a Bibliotecii Naţionale a României

Studia archaeologica et linguistica : miscellanea in honorem annos LXXV peragentis professoris Adriani Poruciuc oblata / ediderunt: Dan Aparaschivei, Alexandru Berzovan. - Cluj-Napoca : Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2023

Conţine bibliografie
ISBN 978-606-37-1785-7

I. Aparaschivei, Dan (ed.)
II. Berzovan, Alexandru (ed.)

902

© 2023 Editorii volumului. Toate drepturile rezervate. Reproducerea integrală sau parţială a textului, prin orice mijloace, fără acordul editorilor, este interzisă şi se pedepseşte conform legii.

Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai
Presa Universitară Clujeană
Director: Codruța Săcelean
Str. Hasdeu nr. 51
400371 Cluj-Napoca, România
Tel./fax: (+40)-264-597.401
E-mail: editura@editura.ubbcluj.ro
http://www.editura.ubbcluj.ro/

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Contents

Tabula Gratulatoria **9**

Abbreviations **11**

Professor Adrian Poruciuc on his 75th anniversary
(Dan Aparaschivei, Alexandru Berzovan) **13**

Prof. dr. habil. Adrian Poruciuc
(Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici) **17**

List of Publications (1975-2022) **25**

About the Gold Pendants from the Copper Age.
Origins, Evolution, Dynamics **43**

Gheorghe LAZAROVICI, Cornelia-Magda LAZAROVICI

Thinking beyond the artefacts:
A few hypotheses in reconstructing the rituals
in temples and sanctuaries from Neolithic and Copper Age **87**

Adela KOVÁCS

Early Late Iron Age hillforts in the East Carpathian regions
of Romania. Trade and connectivity with neighboring areas **135**

Alexandru BERZOVAN

***Pax Romana* in the Lower Danube** **161**

Virgil MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Salt exploitation in Roman Dacia.
Old and new researches: a short overview 189

Lucrețiu MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA

The composition analysis of several coins from the Iezer hoard
(Puiești commune, Vaslui County) 201

Lucian MUNTEANU, Daniela CRISTEA-STAN

Re-reading Anonymus' *Gesta Hungarorum*.
Who were the *Sclavi* and the *Blachi*?
And who were the *Bulgari* and the *Pastores Romanorum*? 223

Sorin PALIGA

***For the* p? A scribal error in the Isruna Tract (Cod. Sang. 270),**
with a few notes on the afterlife of a floating signifier 237

Christian MAIR

On the etymology of Greek ἀράχνη 'spider' 249

John D. BENGTSON, Corinna LESCHBER

The crown as metaphorical representation of royalty
in William Shakespeare's histories.. 261

Iulia Andreea MILICĂ

Adrian Poruciuc – Ein käsarischer Name 287

Adina Lucia NISTOR

The archaic myth of 'the hero slaying the sea monster'.
Professor Poruciuc's linguistic and folkloric activity –
A brief survey 297

Ana R. CHELARIU

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Tabula Gratulatoria

Marius ALEXIANU (Iași)
Constantin APARASCHIVEI (Suceava)
Dan APARASCHIVEI (Iași)
Mihaela ASĂNDULESEI (Iași)
Ludmila BACUMENCO (Iași)
Andrei BALTAG (Iași)
John D. BENGTSON (Santa Fe)
Alexandru BERZOVAN (Iași)
George BILAVSCHI (Iași)
George BODI (Iași)
Sever Petru BOȚAN (Iași)
Mihalea CAZACU-DAVIDESCU (Iași)
Ana CHELARU (New Jersey)
Costel CHIRIAC (Iași)
Victor COJOCARU (Iași)
Cristina CORDOȘ (Iași)
Roxana CURCĂ (Iași)
Lavinia GRUMEZA (Iași)
Harold HAARMAN (Helsinki)
Ștefan HONCU (Iași)
Cătălin HRIBAN (Iași)
Cristian ICHIM (Iași)
Ion IONIȚĂ (Iași)
Adela KOVÁCS (Botoșani)

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Attila LÁSZLO (Iași)
Cornelia-Magda LAZAROVICI (Iași)
Gheorghe LAZAROVICI (Cluj-Napoca)
Corinna LESCHBER (Berlin)
Marian LIE (Iași)
Sabin Adrian LUCA (Sibiu)
Christian MAIR (Freiburg)
Daniel MALAXA (Iași)
Joan MARLER (Sebastopol)
Zoia MAXIM (Cluj – Napoca)
Marco MERLINI (Roma)
Lucrețiu MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA (Iași)
Virgil MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA (Iași)
Iulia Andreea MILICA (Iași)
Bogdan MINEA (Iași)
Susan MOULTON (Sebastopol)
Anca MUNTEANU (Iași)
Lucian MUNTEANU (Iași)
Adina-Lucia NISTOR (Iași)
Sorin PALIGA (București)
Miriam ROBBINS-DEXTER (Van Nuys)
Alexander RUBEL (Iași)
Silviu SANIE (Tel-Aviv)
Iharka SZÜCS-CSILLIK (Cluj-Napoca)
Victor SPINEI (Iași)
Dan Gh. TEODOR (Iași)
Anamaria TUDORIE (Sibiu)
Senica ȚURCANU (Iași)
Emil-Constantin URSU (Suceava)
Nicolae URSULESCU (Iași)
Măriuca VORNICU (Iași)

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Abbreviations

AAC – *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica,* Kraków.

Altschlesien – *Altschlesien. Abhandlungen des Schlesischen Altertumsvereins,* Breslau (Wroclaw).

AARMSI – *Analele Academia Române. Memoriile Secţiunii istorice*, Bucureşti.

Acta Archaeologica – *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae,* Budapest.

AE – *Année Epigraphique*, Paris.

AJA – *American Journal of Archaeology*, Chicago.

AMM – *Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis,* Vaslui.

AMN – *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca.

AMP – *Acta Musei Porolisensis,* Zalău.

AMS – *Acta Moldaviae Septentrionalis,* Botoșani.

AMT – *Acta Musei Tutovensis,* Bârlad

ArhMold – *Arheologia Moldovei*, Iași.

AUI – *Analele Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza"*, Iași.

CA – *Cercetări Arheologice*, București.

CCAR – *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România.*

CercNum – *Cercetări Numismatice,* București.

CI – *Cercetări Istorice*, Iași.

CIL – *Corpus Inscriptiorum Latinarum,* Berlin.

Dacia – *Dacia. Revue d'archeologie et d'histoire ancienne*, Bucureşti

EphemNapoc – *Ephemeris Napocensis,* Cluj-Napoca.

Habis – *Habis*. Universidad de Sevilla.

IDR III/5 – *Inscripţiile Daciei romane*, III/5, Apulum Daciae Superioris, 1-2 (Collegit, commentaries indicibusque instruxit, Gallicae vertit I. Piso), Paris, 2001.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

IDRE – *Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie (Ier-IIIe siècles)*; recueil, commentaire et index par Constantin C. Petolescu. I. *L'Italie et les provinces occidentales*, Bucureşti, 1996; II. *Zones du CIL III et du CIL VIII*, Bucureşti, 2000.

ILD – *Inscripții latine din Dacia*, Bucharest.

ILS – *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, H. Dessau (ed.), ed. a IV-a, 1974.

JAHA – *Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology,* Cluj-Napoca.

JASc – *Journal of Archaeological Science*.

JIES – *Journal of Indo-European studies*.

JRS – *Journal of Roman Studies,* Cambridge.

Klio – *Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, Leipzig.

Marburger Beitr. Ant.– *Marburger Beiträge zur Archäologie*, Marburg.

MCA – *Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice,* București.

MEFRA – *Mélanges de l'École Française à Rome. Antiquité,* Rome.

MemAntiq – *Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis,* Piatra Neamţ.

NumChron – *The Numismatic Chronicle,* London.

Phoenix – *Journal of the Classical Association of Canada,* Toronto.

RE – *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Sttutgart, I, 1893 sqq.

SAA – *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica,* Iași.

SCIVA – *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie,* București.

StCl – *Studii Clasice. Societatea de Studii Clasice din România*, Bucureşti.

Tyche – *Tyche. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, Papyrologie und Epigraphik,* Viena.

ZPE – *Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. Bonn.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Professor Adrian Poruciuc
on his 75th anniversary

It is a tradition of the Institute of Archeology in Iași to honor its members who have reached a remarkable age, and who, through their achievements throughout their careers, have decisively contributed to scientific progress in this fascinating field of research.

The colleague honored in this volume, Professor Adrian Poruciuc, is not among those who sought in the depths of the earth answers to the mysteries of history. He dedicated his career, instead, to an archeology of words, seeking, through the analysis of the old layers of languages, to unearth fragments of the history and religious beliefs of the ancient populations that have lived in these lands over time.

The path he chose was not the easy one, and one could even say it was hard, as many of the topics he researched belong to frontier research fields, with a high degree of uncertainty. The general context was not favorable either, because after the death of great researchers such as Gh. Ivănescu, I. I. Russu, C. Poghirc, D. Slușanschi and others, the Romanian school of historical linguistics entered in a certain period of decline, the interest in this type of approaches decreasing significantly.

Throughout his career, Professor Poruciuc devoted himself to the research of several particular subjects. He was concerned with the substratum of the Romanian language, but also with the question of the pre-Indo-European or Mediterranean substrata, in which he converged with similar approaches in Western literature. Subscribing many times to the views of the remarkable Maria Gimbutas, he was also concerned with the spirituality of the Neo-Eneolithic populations in the Balkan-Anatolian space, from which he tried to decipher certain aspects, calling on data from archaeology, linguistics, ethno-religion and folklore.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Perhaps the most significant contributions of Professor A. Poruciuc were the ones regarding one of the most challenging problem of historical linguistics, namely the issue of old Germanic borrowings in the Romanian language. Here, A. Poruciuc was a real trailblazer, as important names in comparative linguistics from the end of the 19th century and even from the 20th century had categorically opposed the existence of such elements in Romanian. The fight against these old and ossified historiographical clichés was not easy. But the approaches proposed by A. Poruciuc, of wide erudition and interdisciplinary took into account the archaeological realities, in the context in which the research carried out after the 1950s brought to light a significant presence of old Germanic elements in the entire Carpathian-Danubian area, and is difficult to imagine that this multi-secular contact between the distant ancestors of the Romanians and these populations would not have left any kind of traces in the language.

In addition to these subjects, Professor A. Poruciuc was concerned with problems of translation and literary theory, having a remarkable teaching career at the "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University in Iași. Certainly, in the years to come, the professor will have much more to say about these fascinating research topics.

*

Therefore, as a tribute to his entire activity carried out both under the auspices of the Institute of Archeology in Iași of the Romanian Academy, but also as a professor with the "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University in Iași, a number of distinguished researchers and professors from the United States, Germany and Romania have contributed high-quality scientific papers to this volume. There are 12 studies, separated into two thematic sections. The first is dedicated to archaeology, and the second to linguistics and literary theory. The topics addressed are very varied, reflecting the variety of problems that concerned Professor Adrian Poruciuc. Thus, readers will learn about the pendants of the Copper Age, about the rites and rituals of the Neolithic temples, the commercial relations of the cities of the second Iron Age with the Hellenistic, Scythian and Celtic world, the political and ethno-cultural developments in the Eastern Carpathian that followed the Roman

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

conquest of Dacia, the exploitation of salt in Roman Dacia, but also about the characteristics of some monetary hoards found in the area of Moldavia. In the section dedicated to linguistics and literary theory, readers would find a critical reading (and translation) of passages from the famous *Gesta Hungarorum*, an analysis of a transliteration error of a rune, the etymology of a Greek term – with potential connections in various pre-Indo-European languages, a discussion on some Romanian and Balkan myths, a presentation of the etymology of the honored recipient's name, but also a careful and applied analysis of some literary motifs from the work of the great English writer William Shakespeare.

*

As we emphasized above, the indisputable scientific qualities of Professor Adrian Poruciuc are doubled by a wide erudition, which covers various fields of research. His interventions, both in scientific discussions and in informal environments, in discussions with colleagues, reveal to us a modest man, with an intact moral character and at the same time full of optimism.

For these reasons, dear Professor, we wish you good health, may you have as many joys and fulfillments as possible with all your loved ones!

Happy Anniversary
Iași, March 2023

The Editors

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Prof. dr. habil. Adrian Poruciuc

Professor Adrian Poruciuc, a complex personality, was born on March 1, 1948, in the village of Vladomira, Trifești commune, Iași County, where he also attended the local primary school (1955-1959); then he became a student of the "Costache Negruzzi" Highschool in Iași (1959-1966). He attended university studies at the Faculty of Philology of the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University in Iaşi, specializing in English and Romanian, language and literature (1966-1971); after graduation he was employed as an assistant lecturer at the English Department of the same university (1971-1990). Later he successively held the positions of lecturer (1990-1995), associate professor (1995-1998), full professor at the aforementioned department (1998-2013). Also, as an associate professor, he gave lectures at the state universities of Suceava and Bacău (2000-2003), as well as at the Faculty of Philosophy and at the Mediterranean Studies Center of the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University, where he held interdisciplinary courses for MA students, especially on topics of cultural anthropology. As an emeritus – after 2013 – he has taught several courses at the Faculty of Letters of the above-mentioned university (*Introduction to Linguistics* for first-year students of the English Department, as well as two courses for MA students of the same department).

Between 1976 and 1981 he was a PhD student of the Faculty of Philology of the "Babeș-Bolyai" University in Cluj-Napoca, and he defended his doctoral thesis, entitled *Basic Dramatic Structures and Imagery with Shakespeare and Voiculescu* at the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University in Iași, in 1982. In 2013 he obtained the habilitation title, after defending his thesis *From Archaeolinguistics to Archaeomythology*; subsequently he became a doctoral supervisor at the Doctoral School of the Faculty of History of the same university.

Considering his teaching activity, as well as his scientific contributions to the philological field, he was elected member of the Council of the Faculty

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

of Letters (1990, 1996-2013), then vice-dean of the Faculty of Letters (1998-2008), and member of the Senate of the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University (1990, 2000-2013). Between 1995 and 2012, at the same university, he was also director of the summer courses entitled *România – Limbă și Civilizație* (*Romania – Language and Civilization*), for international students.

As a crowning and recognition of his merits in the didactic, professional and scientific research fields, the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University gave him the honorary title of *Professor Emeritus* in 2013.

In addition to his main field of specialization, where he taught courses in *History of the English Language*, *Comparative Grammar of the Germanic Languages* and *Germanic Philology* (1983-1990), Adrian Poruciuc was attracted to the study of Indo-European and Paleo-Balkanic languages, which he studied on his own during the 1983-1988 period; subsequently he held a course entitled *The Indo-European Phenomenon,* for students of the Faculty of Letters and at the Faculty of History.

In trying to perpetuate directions mapped out by his predecessors of the Iaşi school of Indo-European studies (mainly Theofil Simenschy, Gheorghe Ivănescu and Ariton Vraciu), in 1990, at the Faculty of Letters, Adrian Poruciuc founded *Centrul de Studii Indoeuropene și Balcanice* (Center for Indo-European and Balkan Studies), which he equipped – in course of time, at his own expense – with over 2.500 specialized volumes and publications, purchased (after 1990) mainly from the USA and Germany. Those bibliographic materials were turned to good account by numerous students and doctoral students who wrote their dissertations and theses in the fields of philology, archaeology and history. Also, as coordinator of the same center, Adrian Poruciuc participated in the organization of three international academic gatherings: the colloquium *"Fenomenul indoeuropean în estul Europei"* (The Indo-European Phenomenon in Eastern Europe) – Piatra Neamț, 1994, the round table *"Semnificația relației lingvistice albano-române"* (The Significance of the Albanian-Romanian Linguistic Relationship) – Iași-Piatra Neamț, 1996 (with the participation of numerous Albanian specialists, led by Acad. Shaban Demiraj, president of the Albanian Academy), and *Balkan Linguistics as/vs Eurolinguistics – Workshop-Conference of the International Commission for Balkan Linguistics* – Iași, 2011.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Adrian Poruciuc's specialization in the Indo-European and Paleo-Balkan fields was also favoured by a *Fulbright Visiting Scholar* grant (1990-1992) for research in Indo-European studies and archaic Southeast European cultures, at the University of Chicago, where he carried out an intense activity of documentation and research; but at the same he had the opportunity to teach two courses, namely *History of English* and *Elementary Romanian*. At the Department of Linguistics of the same American university, he was associated with Prof. Eric Hamp (reputed Indo-Europeanist and Balkanist), also collaborating with Prof. Kostas Kazazis (specialist in Balkan linguistics) and Prof. Christina von Nolcken (specialist in Medieval English). Within the same university, he also collaborated with the departments of English Language and Literature, Anthropology, Slavic Languages and Literatures, as well as History of Religions ("Mircea Eliade" chair at the Divinity School). During the same period, he delivered lectures and gave talks – in Chicago, Los Angeles, Washington D.C., Columbus (Ohio), Evansville (Indiana) – on issues of interest for fields such as Indo-European studies, Germanic studies, Ethnology, Balkan studies and Romanian studies.

Throughout his career he benefited from several documentation stays in Germany, at Albert-Ludwigs-Universität in Freiburg (1993, 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2011; including lectures), in Albania (1996, as invited professor at the Department of Linguistics of the University of Tirana), in Italy, (2003, on a scholarship at the Centro Studi Ligure per Arti e le Lettere (Bogliasco, Genoa). He also benefited from two grants offered by the Institute of Archaeomythology – IAM (Sebastopol, California), one in 2004 (visiting a number of important archaeological sites in Serbia and Bulgaria) and the other in 2006 (an archaeological-ethnological study tour in several areas of interest in Bulgaria).The appreciation he enjoyed during his activity as a teacher and researcher is also proven by the fact that in 1996 he was invited to participate in the competition for the succession of Prof. Herbert Pilch (English and Indo-European studies) at the English Seminar of the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität in Freiburg (the competition being eventually won by Prof. B. Kortmann).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Over time he obtained several titles and prizes: 2003, Fellow per la Letteratura, Compagnia di San Paolo – Bogliasco, Genoa, Italy; 2005, Fellow of the Institute of Archaeomythology, Sebastopol, California, USA; 2010, a CNCSIS award for an article published (in 2009) in an ISI-listed journal (*The Mankind Quarterly*); 2011, Doctor Honoris Causa of the "Ștefan cel Mare" University from Suceava.

Due to his merits in the fields in which he specialized, Professor Adrian Poruciuc is a member of several professional scientific societies: 1993, member of the *International Society of Anglo-Saxonists*; 1994-2003, member of the *International Commission for the Promotion of Indo-European and Thracian Studies*; 1995-2013, member of the *European Society for the Study of English* (ESSE); 2000-2013, member of the *International Council of Indo-European and Thracian Studies*; 2010-2023, member of the *International Commission for Balkan Linguistics*; 2014-2023, member of *Uniunea Scriitorilor din România* (the Romanian Writers' Union), Iași Branch.

In the period 2003-2013 he participated in several national and European projects, as a member or project manager: 2003-2006, contact person (for UAIC) within the European project ENLU (*European Network for the Promotion of Language Learning among All Undergraduates*) of the European Commission for Languages (CEL/ECL); 2006-2008, member of the "TELPROT" project; 2008-2010, member of the "ASISTSYS" project; 2011, manager of the project PN-II-ID-WE-2011-003 (for the conference-workshop "Balkan Linguistics as/vs Eurolinguistics" under the auspices of the *International Commission for Balkan Linguistics*; 2012-2013, member of the project *"Relațiile externe ale orașelor grecești pontice în perioada elenistică și epoca romană: o abordare multidisciplinară (External relations of the Pontic Greek cities in the Hellenistic and Roman periods: a multidisciplinary approach)"*, PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0054 – Romanian Academy, Iași Branch.

In parallel with his teaching and research activity at the Faculty of Letters in Iași, due to his interests and expertise, he was also co-opted in other research teams in specialized institutes of the Romanian Academy. Thus, between 1990-1992 he was an external collaborator of the Romanian Institute of Tracology in Bucharest, and between 1992-2003 he held the half-post position of scientific researcher at the same institute; in the institute's journal, *Thraco-Dacica*, he published studies and articles on substratal onomastics of the Romanian

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

language and about the lexical elements of an "Egyptoid" type inherited by the European languages from the Mediterranean substrate.

Between 1996-2003 Adrian Poruciuc was a member of the Scientific Council of the Romanian Institute of Tracology. Subsequently he worked as a scientific researcher at the Institute of Archeology in Iași (in various positions), contributing to various topics of national and international interest: 2006-2013, in collaboration with V. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, on the topic of *Natives and intruders (especially Germanic ones) in the area between the Siret and the Carpathians – an interdisciplinary study* (as part of the program *Romanization, migrants and cultures in the 1st millennium AD*); 2015-2019, responsible for the topic *Contacts between ancient Germanic peoples and natives of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe reflected in lexical borrowings from the field of pre- and proto-feudal social structures* (also as part of the program *Romanization, migrants and cultures in the 1st millennium AD*).

From 2003 until now, he continued to investigate lexical elements from the substratum; in parallel, he detected and analysed Old Germanic lexical elements (Bastarno-Suebic and Gotho-Gepidic) perpetuated in Romanian and in neighbouring languages; he also addressed aspects of the prehistory of writing, in the light of new evidence for the existence of a "Danube Script" (reflected in several prehistoric civilizations on both sides of the Danube).

Along with his scientific activity, he also acted as a doctoral supervisor; even if that activity was short-lived, the results were exceptional. It is also worth mentioning that Professor Adrian Poruciuc was member of over 20 doctoral boards at the universities of Cluj-Napoca, Timișoara, Bucharest and Iași.

Professor Adrian Poruciuc is the author of 12 volumes and numerous studies, articles, reviews (over 180), which very eloquently reflect his areas of interest. Most of them have been published in prestigious magazines in the country or abroad, as well as in equally valuable collective volumes.

His editorial activity is also remarkable, as can be seen from the following lines:

1997 – member of the editorial board of the first abstract volume presented at the *7th International Congress of Thracology* (Constanța-Mangalia-Tulcea).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

2001-2003, member of the editorial board of the *Thraco-Dacica* journal.

2003-2010, member of the scientific board of *Strabon – Bulletin d'information Historique* journal.

2004 – present, coordinator of the *Anglosaxonica* and *Will* collections of the Demiurg Publishing House, Iași.

2004, member of the editorial board of the volume *Aspects of Spiritual Life in South East Europe from Prehistory to the Present* (eds. V. Cojocaru and V. Spinei), Romanian Academy, Iași Branch. Trinitas Publishing house.

2004, member of the editorial board of the volume *Messages, Sages, and Ages – Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on British and American Studies, Suceava University* (eds. E. Graur, C. Macsiniuc, A. Diaconescu), Suceava University Publishing House.

2005, member of the editorial board of the volume *Ethnic Contacts and Cultural Exchanges North and West of the Black Sea – From the Ottoman Conquest to the Present* (eds. F. Solomon, A. Zub, M. Chelcu), Romanian Academy, "A. D. Xenopol" Institute of History Iași, Trinitas Publishing House.

2008 – present, member of the editorial board of the journal *Arheologia Moldovei*.

2009-present, member of the editorial board of the journal *The Mankind Quarterly* (Washington, D.C.).

2016-present, member of the editorial board of *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* (Washington, D.C.), ISI-listed.

2010-present, member of the editorial board of the journal *Linguaculture* (Iași, UAIC).

2012, member of the editorial board of *Philologica Jassyensia*, VIII, 1, 2012, which includes the papers presented at the international conference-workshop *Balkan Linguistics as/vs Eurolinguistics* (Iași, Sept. 19-20, 2011).

2015, co-editor of the volume *From Symbols to Signs – In Memory of Klaus Schmidt*, eds. C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, Suceava, Karl A. Romstorfer Publishing House.

2016, co-editor of the volume *Between Earth and Heaven – Symbols and Signs*, eds. C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, Suceava, Karl A. Romstorfer Publishing House.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

2017, co-editor of the volume *Symbols and Signs as a Communication System*, eds. C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, Suceava, Karl A. Romstorfer Publishing House.

2017, co-editor of the volume *Symbols and Signs through Millennia. In memory of Harald Hauptmann*, eds. C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici and A. Kovács, National Museum of Bucovina, Romanian Academy-Iași Branch, Institute of Archeology Iași, Karl A. Romstorfer Publishing House, Suceava, 2021.

Most of the journals and collective volumes indicated in the list above also include articles authored by Adrian Poruciuc.

So far, in this presentation, we have tried to render the portrait of an exceptional teacher and researcher, passionate about both the pedagogical aspect and that of scientific investigation, largely linked to his training in the linguistic field. We must also note the interdisciplinary nature of his concerns and studies; today Adrian Poruciuc represents an important vector in terms of the study of ancient languages, of links with the archaic and even prehistoric background, connecting bridges between archaeology, ethnography, symbolism, ethnoreligion and other fields, always being interested in what is new and bringing new perspectives to the interpretation of the past.

Regarding the man Adrian Poruciuc, we can only say words of praise for his gentle nature, his humour, his empathy towards those around him. We participated together in numerous national and international symposia, where we could admire his contributions on various subjects, which reveal his knowledge in various fields, as well as an extremely vast culture.

On reaching the beautiful age of 75, we can only wish him good health, equally appreciated works and scientific youth in the future as well!

Happy Birthday!

Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

List of Publications
(1975-2022)

BOOKS

1. *Rădăcini preistorice ale unor tradiţii româneşti şi sud-est europene,* Ed. Saeculum IO, București, 2017.
2. *Sub semnul Pământului Mamă – Rădăcini preistorice ale unor tradiţii româneşti şi sud-est europene*, Preface by Miriam Robbins Dexter, afterword of Nicu Gavriluţă. Iaşi, Ed. Universității „Al. I. Cuza", Iași, 2013.
3. *Prehistoric Roots of Romanian and Southeast European Traditions,* Preface by Miriam Robbins Dexter (UCLA), Institute of Archaeomythology, Sebastopol, 2010.
4. *A Concise History of the English Language*, Casa Editorială Demiurg, Iaşi, 2004.
5. *Structuri dramatice* şi *imagini poetice la Shakespeare* şi *Voiculescu,* Casa Editorială Demiurg, Iași, 2000.
6. *A History of Medieval English*, Casa Editorială Demiurg, Iași, 1999.
7. *Limb*ă ş*i istorie englez*ă – Î*ntre William Cuceritorul* ş*i William Caxton,* Ed. Polirom, Iaşi, 1999.
8. *Confluenţe şi etimologii,* Ed. Polirom, Iași, 1998.
9. *Istorie scrisă în engleza veche,* Ed. Moldova, Iași, 1995.
10. *Archaeolinguistica – Trei studii interdisciplinare,* Bibliotheca Thracologica, (IX), Institutul Român de Tracologie, București, 1995.
11. *A Concise History of the English Language* (multiplied course, revised and added edition), Chicago, Kinko (reissued in 1994, Bucureşti, TIMS), 1992.
12. *A Concise History of the English Language* (multiplied course), Ed. Universității „Al. I. Cuza", Iași, 1987.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

STUDIES, ARTICLES, REVIEWS, CHRONICLES, PREFACES

2022

Nasture *şi* bumb – *două denumiri de accesorii vestimentare bazate pe împrumuturi lexicale vechi germanice*, in *AMT – Istorie Veche şi Arheologie*, XVIII, 124-142.

2021

Vechi germanisme păstrate în limba română: cazurile cioarec *şi* bundă, in M. Nevaci, I. Florea, I.-M. Farcaş (eds.), *Ex oriente lux. In honorem Nicolae Saramandu*, Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria, 841-854.

Relevanţa termenilor daco-rom. şcheau, *macedo-rom.* şcl'au *şi alb.* shqâ *în clarificarea relaţiei dintre etnonimul* Sclavus *'slav' şi socionimul* sclavus *'sclav' din latina medievală,* in *ArhMold*, XLIV, 273-297.

The Evolution of Gothic hansa ('troop, cohort, crowd') as a Loan in Romanian and Slavic, in *JIES*, 49, 3-4, 406-440.

A probable etymological connection: Albanian Vatër *and the Romanian* Vatră *as related to Avestan* Ātarš *and Latin* Ātrium *as well as to Greek* Atreus *and Latin* Atrium, in C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, G. Lazarovici, A. Kovacs (eds.), *Symbols and Signs Through Millennia. In memory of Harald Hauptmann*, Muzeul Național de Istorie a Bucovinei, Academia Română-Filiala Iași, Institutul de Arheologie Iași, Publishing house K. A. Romstorfer, Suceava, 357-364.

2020

O necesară reconsiderare a originii cuvântului românesc boier *şi a boieriei ca instituţie specifică românilor, albanezilor şi slavilor medievali (II),* in *ArhMold*, XLIII, 311-339.

Archaic vocabulary relating to symbolic hearths, in *Mankind Quarterly*, 61, 2, 329-338.

The peculiar position of Germanic runes in the history of script, in *Linguaculture*, 2, 13-26.

Punga – un accesoriu vestimentar cu denumire veche germanică, in *AMT – Istorie veche şi arheologie*, XVI, 145-156.

Face to Face in Munich, in *Tributes to Jim Mallory on his Retirement as Editor of Journal of Indo-European Studies* , in *JIES*., 48, 3-4, 301-303.

2019

Evoluţia termenului gotic hansa *(ceată, trupă, mulţime) ca împrumut în română şi slavă,* in *AMT – Istorie veche şi arheologie*, XV, 284-299.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

O necesară reconsiderare a originii cuvântului românesc boier *şi a boieriei ca instituţie specifică românilor, albanezilor şi slavilor medievali (I)*, in *ArhMold*, XLII, 301-330.

Noul Testament de la Bălgrad a împlinit 370 de ani, in C. Gavriluță, D. Bădulescu (coord.), *Cărţile care ne dau aripi* (127-137), Publishing house EIKON, București.

2018

Symbolic Horns in Images and Words, in *Mankind Quarterly*, 58, 3, 505-519.

The Banished Wood Mother of the Romanians, in *Journal of Archaeomythology*, Vol. 8, 114-124.

Rom. baniță (*'vas de lemn folosit ca măsură pentru cereale') şi legăturile sale cu familia lexicală a rom.* ban *(titlu feudal)*, in *ArhMold*, XLI, 257-267.

Termenul gotic hlaiw (*mormânt, movilă funerară, casă mortuară) preluat în slavă şi română*, in *AMT – Istorie veche şi arheologie*, XIV, 165-175.

2017

Probabila origine latină a termenului slav ralo *'plug'*, in M. Stanciu Istrate, D. Răuţu (eds.), *Lucrările celui de-al şaselea simpozion internaţional de lingvistică, 29-30 mai 2015* (255-266), Institutul de Lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan–Al. Rosetti" al Academiei Române, Publishing house Univers Enciclopedic Gold, Bucureşti.

De la Beda la Brexit – mărturii ale mândriei insulare britanice, in *Convorbiri literare*, August, no. 8, 141-147.

Un sistem juridic-administrativ de origine veche germanică reflectat într-o familie lexicală românească (ban, bănat, băni, bănui, bântui), *II*, in *ArhMold*, XL, 289-314.

Symbolic horns – in images and words, in C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici (eds.), *Symbols and Signs as a Communication System*, Publishing house Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava, 225-234.

2016

Mutual Clarifications – Analyzing Romanian găman *in Connection with Gothic* gaman *and English* yeoman, in *JIES*, Volume 44, 3 – 4, 466-483.

Axes and Arrows – From Things to Signs, in *The Mankind Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 4, Summer, 535-545.

Shakespeare – între anotimpuri şi stihii alcătuitoare, in *Convorbiri literare*, April, no. 4, 46-50.

From pentalobular body-temples to magic pentagrams, in C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici (eds.), *Between Earth and Heaven – Symbols and Signs*, Publishing house Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava, 481-488.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Un sistem juridic-administrativ de origine veche germanică reflectat într-o familie lexicală românească (ban, bănat, băni, bănui, bântui), I, in *ArhMold*, XXXIX, 113-128.

Spectacular semantic shifts – From Carles Wæn and Carolus Magnus to Craii de Curtea-Veche (in collab.), in D. Chira, N. Mocanu (eds.), *Studies and Articles – In Honour of Mihai Mircea Zdrenghea on his 70th Anniversary*, Publishing house Scriptor & Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 421-428.

2015

Limbi şi identităţi europene – pierderi, perpetuări şi revigorări (I), in *Convorbiri literare,* February 2015, No. 2, 154-158

Limbi şi identităţi europene – pierderi, perpetuări şi revigorări (II), in *Convorbiri literare,* March 2015, No. 3, 144-147.

Observaţii privitoare la răspândirea neoliticului şi la perpetuarea unor aspecte ale sale în Africa de Nord, in V. Spinei, N. Ursulescu, V. Cotiugă (eds.), *Orbis Praehistoriae. Mircea Petrescu-Dîmboviţa – in memoriam*, Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, 707-718.

Numele vechi al Moldovei (Moldua) *explicat prin apelativul protogermanic* *moldwa, in *Philologica Jassyensia,* Year XI, No. 1, 221-239.

Clues to the Chronology of Old Germanic Loans in Romanian and in Other South-East European Languages, in *Slavia Meridionalis,* 115, 14-31.

Axes and Arrows – From Symbolic Things to Signs, in C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici (eds.), *From Symbols to Signs – In Memory of Klaus Schmidt,* Publishing house Karl A. Romstorfer [republished in *The Mankind Quarterly,* in 2016], Suceava, 317-324.

Prolonged continuity and hybridization of Pre- and Proto-Indo-European elements visible in Romanian ritual folklore, in C. Schuster, C. Tulugea, C. Terteci (eds.), *Buridava XII/1 – Symposia Thracologica X,* Muzeul Județean de Arheologie „Aurelian Sacerdoțeanu", Râmnicu Vâlcea, 475-493.

Paradigmatic presentations of salt in the Romanian language and folklore, in *Salt Effect – From the Ethnoarchaeology to the Anthropology of Salt,* M. Alexianu, R.-G. Curcă, V. Cotiugă (eds.), BAR International Series 2760, Oxford, 475-493.

An etymological proposition: Old Germanic gōd-spōd *'good fortune' as source of Old Church Slavonic* gospodь *'lord, master'* (with N. Poruciuc), in *Messages, Sages, and Ages,* Vol. 2, No. 2, 7-12.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

2014

The Fortune of the Old Germanic Loan fara *in Romanian and in Other European Languages,* in *JIES,* Volume 42, 1-2, Spring/Summer, 175-202.

Fenomenul indo-european în viziunea lui G. Ivănescu, in *Anuar de lingvistică şi istorie literară,* tome LIII, 2013, special number, *Lucrările colocviului internaţional G. Ivănescu – 100 de ani de la naştere (Iaşi, 1-2 noiembrie 2012),* coord. Carmen-Gabriela Pamfil, Publishing house of the Romanian Academy, București, 313-322.

An Archaeomythological Approach to an Old European Sign (OE 14), in J. Marler (ed.) (with special thanks to Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici), *Fifty Years of Tărtăria Excavations – Festschrift in Honor of Gheorghe Lazarovici,* Institute of Archaeomythology, Sebastopol, 120-125.

The Sleeping-Beauty Motif in a Singular Romanian Ritual Song, in *Cosmos* (Edinburgh), 30, 49-64.

Documentare, contacte şi comunicări în Polonia, in *ArhMold,* XXXVII, 363-371.

2013

The early stage of the relationship Romania-Germania *as reflected in Old Germanic loans in Romanian,* in A. Rubel (ed.), *Imperium und Romanisierung,* Hartung-Gorre Verlag, Konstanz, 185-206.

The Romanian zgripsoroaică *'female griffin' and other representatives of the netherworld,* in I. Moga (ed.) *Angels, Demons and Representations of Afterlife,* Publishing house of "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, 95-102, Iaşi.

Review: *Harald Haarmann, Das Rätsel der Donauzivilisation – Die Entdeckung der ältesten Hochkultur Europas, Verlag C. H. Beck, München, 2011, 286 p., 100 fig,* in *ArhMold,* XXXVI, 300-304.

2012

A New View on the Latin Origin of Romanian (f)sat *'village', Aromanian* fsat *'ditch' and Albanian* fshat *'village',* in T. Kahl, M. Metzeltin, H. Schaller (eds.), *Balkanismen heute – Balkanisms Today – Балканизмы сегодня,* LIT Verlag, Wien/Berlin, 221-243.

Old Germanisms in the Balkans and in Other Parts of Europe, in *Philologica Jassyensia,* VIII, 1, 181-194.

An International Academic Event at the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iaşi: the Workshop-Conference of the Commission for Balkan Linguistics, 19-20 Sept. 2011, in *Philologica Jassyensia,* VIII, 1, 95-97.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

English on the Roads (in America), in O. Macari (coord.), *Odette Blumenfeld in honorem*. Analele Universităţii "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iaşi. Limbi şi literaturi străine. Supplement to the tome XIV (2011), Iași, 445-448.

Review: *Gheorghe Lazarovici, Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici, Marco Merlini, Tărtăria and the Sacred Tablets (incluzând şi contribuţii de Diana Bindea şi Cosmin Suciu), Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2011, 414 p.*, in *ArhMold*, XXXV, 345-347.

Etimologia cuvintelor româneşti burtă, burde *şi* borţ, *clarificate prin vechea germanică*, in N. Saramandu, M. Nevaci, C. I. Radu (eds.), *Convergenţe lingvistice – Lucrările celui de-al patrulea simpozion internaţional de linguistică, Bucureşti, 5-6 noiembrie* 2010, Publishing house of București University, București, 159-174.

2011

Two Old Germanisms of East Romance (Romanian ateia *'to dress up' and* brânduşă *'crocus') confirmed by West Romance cognates*m, in *JIES*, Vol. 39, 3-4, 355-379.

Etymological and Historical Implications of Romanian Place Names Referring to Salt, in M. Alexianu, O. Weller, R.-G. Curcă (eds.), *Archaeology and Anthropology of Salt. A Diachronic Approach – Proceedings of the International Colloquium, 1-5 October, 2008, "Al. I. Cuza" University (Iaşi, Romania),* BAR International Series 2198, Oxford, 215-218.

Old European Echoes in Germanic Runes?, in *Journal of Archaeomythology*, Special issue, Vol. 7, 65-72.

Marija Gimbutas and Adrian Poruciuc: Interview and Correspondence ~ 1984-1992, in *Journal of Archaeomythology*, Special issue, Vol. 7, 8-22.

Faza timpurie a relaţiei România-Germania *reflectată la nivelul elementelor lexicale vechi germanice păstrate în limba română,* in A. Rubel (ed.), *Romanizarea – Impunere şi adeziune în Imperiul Roman*, Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza", University, Iași, 255-275.

Elemente de substrat paleobalcanic în aromână, in M. Nevaci (ed.), *Studia linguistica et philologica – Omagiu Profesorului Nicolae Saramandu la 70 de ani* Publishing house of Bucureşti University, București, 689-700.

Traditional Culture and/as Identity, in R. Moldovan, P. Petrar (eds.), *Constructions of Identity*, VI, Publishing house Napoca Star, Cluj-Napoca, 271-277.

Review: *Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici, Gheorghe-Corneliu Lazarovici, Senica Ţurcanu, Cucuteni – A Great Civilization of the Prehistoric World, 2009*, in *ArhMold*, XXXIV, 329-332.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

2010

From bull-and-butterfly to alpha *and* psi, in *Journal of Archaeomythology*, Vol. 6, 84-88.

Salt and Human Health: Science, Archaeology, Ancient Texts and Traditional Practices of Eastern Romania (with I. Sandu, M. Alexianu, R.-G. Curcă, O. Weller), in *The Mankind Quarterly*, Vol. L, No. 3, Spring, 225-256.

Observaţii asupra elementului -poris *din onomastica tracică,* in *ArhMold*, XXXIII, 325-3290.

Rom. sat *ca derivat din termenul lat.* fossatus *folosit în arpentajul roman*, in N. Saramandu, M. Nevaci, C. I. Radu (eds.), *Lucrările celui de-al treilea simpozion internaţional de lingvistică, Bucureşti 20-21 noiembrie 2009*, Academia Română, Institutul de Lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti", Publishing house of Bucureşti University, București, 129-136.

The Greek term keramos *('potter's clay, earthenware') as probably inherited from a pre-Indo-European (Egyptoid) substratum*, in N. Bolohan, F. Măţău, F. A. Tencariu (eds), *Signa praehistorica – Studia in honorem magistri Attila László*, Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, 451-457.

Review: Walther Pohl, *Eastern Central Europe in the Early Middle Ages – Conflicts, Migrations and Ethnic Processes*, edited by Cristina Spinei and Cătălin Hriban, Bucureşti-Brăila, 2008. *ArhMold*, XXXIII, 369-370.

2009

Linguistic-Historical Implications of an Old Germanic Loan – Romanian gard *'fence, enclosure, weir, garden'*, in *The Mankind Quarterly*, Vol. L, 1-2, Fall/Winter, 25-70.

Review: *Thede Kahl, Hirten in Kontakt – Sprach- und Kulturwandel ehemaliger Wanderhirten (Albanisch, Aromunisch, Griechisch), LIT Verlag GmhH & Co., Wien/ LIT Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, Berlin, 2007*, in *The Makind Quarterly*, Vol. XLIX, 3-4, 405-408.

The Old Fairy, Pen in Hand, in the Netherworld, in J. Marler, M. Robbins Dexter (eds.), *Signs of Civilization – Neolithic Symbol System of Southeast Europe*, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Novi Sad Branch/ Institute of Archaeomythology, Sebastopol, 213-219.

An Opening to Remember: Meyer-Lübke's Outlook on Old Germanisms in Romanian, in T. Kahl (ed.), *Das Rumänische und seine Nachbarn*, Frank & Timme, Berlin, 217-231.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

From bull-and-butterfly to alpha *and* psi, in S. A. Luca (ed.), *Signs and symbols from Danube Neolithic and Eneolithic* Brukenthal National Museum/ Institute of Archaeomythology, Sebastopol, Sibiu, 37-40.

Vechiul germanism fara *păstrat în română şi în alte limbi sud-est europene*, in N. Saramandu, M. Nevaci, C. I. Radu (eds.), *Lucrările celui de-al doilea simpozion internaţional de lingvistică, Bucureşti, 28/29 noiembrie, 2008*, Academia Română, Institutul de Lingvistică "Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti", Publishing house of Bucureşti University, Bucureşti, 167-180.

'Egyptoid' and 'Semitidic' Elements as Relics from Prehistoric Substrata of European Languages, in V. Cotiugă *et al.* (eds.), *Itinera in praehistoria – Studia in honorem magistri Nicolae Ursulescu quinto et sexagesimo anno*, Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, 295-302.

A Thracian Relic in Romanian Folklore: the Hunter-Horse-Hound-Hawk Formula, in *AUI. Limbi şi Literaturi Străine*, Tome XII, 5-14.

2008

Historical Implications of a Romanian Lexical Family of Old Germanic Origin (ban, banat, băni, bănui, bântui), in *The Mankind Quarterly*, Vol. 48, No. 3, Spring, 353-395.

Two Romanian terms (tureci *and* cioareci) *based on Old Germanic designations of leg-coverings*. in *JIES*, Vol. 36, Numbers 1-2, Spring/ Summer, 163-184.

Problema vechilor germanisme păstrate în limba română, in N. Saramandu, M. Nevaci, C. I. Radu (eds.), *Lucrările primului simpozion internaţional de lingvistică: Bucureşti, 13-14 noiembrie 2007*, Academia Română, Institutul de Lingvistică „Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti", Publishing house of Bucureşti Uiversity, București, 105-130.

Denumirile sării şi implicaţiile lor în plan (indo)european, in Gh. Dumitroaia, D. Monah (eds.), *Sarea – de la prezent la trecut* Institutul de Arheologie Iaşi/ Centrul Internaţional de Cercetare a Culturii Cucuteni, Publishing house „Constantin Matasă", Piatra-Neamţ, 133-148.

Termenul regional românesc huscă *(sare obţinută prin evaporarea apei sărate') explicat ca vechi germanism*, in *ArhMold*, XXXI, 253-257.

Ivănescu faţă cu neo-roeslerienii, in L. Hoarţă Cărăuşu (ed.), *Comunicarea: ipoteze şi ipostaze*, Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, 28-43.

Etimologie populară şi etimologie asociativă, in G. Bondor, C. Bîlbă (eds.), *Adevăr hermeneutic şi locuri obscure*, Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, 382-399.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

From Old Germanic gōd-spōd *to Slavic* gospod *and Romanian* gospodă, in *AUI Limbi şi Literaturi Străine*, Tome XI, 117-126.

2007

Survivals of the Thracian Horse-Hawk-Hound Symbolism, in A. Iakovidou (ed.), *Thrace in the Graeco-Roman World – Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Thracology, Komotini-Alexandroupolis, 18-23 October 2005*, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens, 504-506.

O victorie a exilului românesc: Alexandru Ciorănescu (1911-1999), in *Români majoritari/ Români minoritari: interferenţe şi coabitări lingvistice, literare şi etnologice*, Academia Română. Institutul de Filologie Română „A. Philippide": – Iaşi, Publishing house Alfa, Iași, 837-840.

Romanian huscă *('salt obtained by evaporation of salt water') explained as an Old Germanism*, in D. Monah, Gh. Dumitroaia, O. Weller, J. Chapman (eds.), *L'exploitation du sel á travers le temps*, Centre International de Recherche de la Culture Cucuteni – Piatra Neamţ/ Institut d'Archéologie Iaşi, Publishing house Constantin Matasă, Piatra Neamţ, 319-324.

Rom. gard – *Un vechi germanism şi implicaţiile sale lingvistice şi istorice*, in *ArhMold*, XXX, 343-357.

Întru amintirea lui Alexander Fol (1933-2006), in *ArhMold*, XXX, 487-490.

Două vechi germanisme din limba română (ateia *şi* brânduşă) *confirmate de corespondente din alte limbi romanice*, in L. Hoarţă Cărăuşu (ed.), *Rezultate şi perspective actuale ale lingvisticii româneşti şi străine*, Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, 317-332.

Interethnic contacts and semantic shifts implied by the relationship Gothic gards ~ *Romanian* gard ~ *Albanian* gardh ~ *Slavic* grad, in M. Flaişer (ed.), *Arta comunicării în contextual diversităţii culturale şi lingvistice*, Editorial House Demiurg, Iași, 163-166.

Un miniatural cuvânt înainte – pe hârtie velină. Prefaţă la vol. Catherine Byron, *Vellum* (trad. Dana Bădulescu şi Radu Andriescu), VII-IX, Publishing house T, Iași.

Review: *Gérard Chouquer/ François Favory, Dicţionar de termeni şi expresii gromatice (traducere şi cuvânt înainte de Marius Alexianu), Iaşi*: *Casa Editorială Demiurg, 2006*, in *ArhMold*, XXX, 391-393.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

2006

The Sea and the Sea-Flood in Romanian Folklore, in *Journal of Archaeomythology*, Vol. 2, Nr. 1, 65-76.

Magic Maidens and Heroic Horsemen, in C. Biaggi (ed.), *The Rule of Mars: The Origins, History and Impact of* Patriarchy, Knowledge, Ideas & Trends, Manchester, 175-186.

Palaeo-Balkan Elements in Romanian and Southeast European Anthroponymy, in Orpheus – Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies, 16, 69-78.

Aspecte arhaice implicate de rom. dolf *şi de corespondentele sale etimologice,* in E. Dănilă *et al*. (eds.), *Comunicare interculturală şi integrare europeană*, Academia Română, Institutul de Filologie Română "A. Philippide", Publishing house Alfa, Iași, 245-252.

Observaţii asupra unor elemente pre-homerice perpetuate în tradiţii româneşti şi sud-est europene, in M.-R. Clim, O. Ichim, L. Manea, F.-T. Olariu (eds.), *Identitatea culturală românească în contextual integrării europene,* Academia Română, Institutul de Filologie Română „A. Philippide", Publishing house Alfa, Iași, 711-720.

Language Obsolescence, Loss and Revival in Europe, in *Developing a pan-European Network of Language Resource Centres for Less Widely Used Less Taught Languages – Proceedings of the eEuroinclusion International Conference "Equal Chances for Any European Language" – Iaşi Romania, 30.09 – 02.10 2005,* Publishing house CDRMO, Iași, 23-29.

Contribuţia lui Gheorghe Ivănescu în domeniul studiilor indoeuropene, in *Hermeneia,* număr special (ed. Ş. Afloroaei), Axis, Iași, 96-104.

Lingvistica istorică ieşeană: între realizări şi promisiuni de onora, in *Philologica Jassyensia,* An II, Nr. 2, 283-294.

Preface, William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, bibliophile edition. Editorial House Demiurg, Iași.

2005

The Romanian dolf *'sea monster' in connection with a Greek lexical family and with signs of early Eurasian religion,* in *Journal of Archaeomythology,* Vol. 1, No. 1, 12-24.

Lexical elements that reflect close contacts between Old Germanic and autochthonous populations in Southeast Europe, in V. Cojocaru (ed.), *Ethnic Contacts and Cultural Exchanges North and West of the Black Sea – From the Greek Colonization*

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

to the Ottoman Conquest, Academia Română, Filiala Iaşi, Institutul de Arheologie, Publishing house Trinitas. Iași, 369-381.

The 'Cucutenian Language' and the Euxine-Levantine-Egyptian Connection, in Gh. Dumitroaia *et al.* (eds.), *Cucuteni – 120 Years of Research*, Cucuteni Culture Research Center/ Institute of Archaeology Iaşi, Piatra Neamţ, 377-382.

Romanian găman *explained through Gothic* gaman *and English* yeoman, in *Tradition, Modernity and Postmodernity – International Conference, Iaşi, 26-29 March, 2003*, Universitas XXI, Iași, 340-345.

Tok Pisin as Future English, in O. Blumenfeld, R. Andriescu *et al.* (eds.), *Mapping the Future – International Conference, Iaşi, 23-26 March, 2005*, Universitas XXI, Iași, 262-267.

Review (co-autor Victor Cojocaru): *International Symposium: Ethnic Contacts and Exchanges North and West of the Black Sea from the Greek Colonization to the* Present, in *ArhMold*, XXVI, 411-412.

2004

English child *and its East and West European correspondents*, in *Orpheus – Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies*, 13-14, 23-28.

Rom. bordei *ca vechi germanism*, in D. Mănucă, O. Ichim şi F.-T. Olariu (eds.), *Spaţiul lingvistic şi literar românesc din perspectiva integrării europene*, Academia Română, Institutul de Filologie Română „A. Philippide", Publishing house Alfa, Iași, 326-336.

Messages, Sages, and Ideologies of the English, in *Messages, Sages and Ages – Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on British and American Studies, Suceava University*, Publishing house of University, Suceava, 49-54.

2003

Orpheus – Name and Function, in K. Jordanov, K. Porozhanov, V. Fol (eds.), *Thracia XV – In Honour of Alexander Fol's 70th Anniversary*, Bulgarian Academy, Institute of Thracology, Sofia, 197-211.

Două autohtonisme definitorii ale identităţii româneşti : rom moş (*cf. alb.* moshë) *şi sufixul rom*. -ău/-eu (*cf. gr.* -εύς, *lat.* -eus), in O. Ichim, F.-T. Olariu (eds.), *Limba şi literatura română în spaţiul etnocultural dacoromânesc şi în diaspora*, Academia Română, Institutul de Filologie Română „A. Philippide", Publishing house Trinitas. Iași, 91-104.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The Orphic sanctuary of Littlecote and its correspondents, in *Strabon – Bulletin d'information historique*, Tome I, No. 2, 83-88.

2002

Orphic Relics and Christianized Perpetuations in Romanian Folklore, in Al. Fol (ed.), *Thrace and the Aegean – Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Thracology, Sofia-Yambol, 25-29 September, 2000*, International Foundation Europa Antiqua/ Institute of Thracology – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, Vol. II, 747-756.

Thracian Lions and Romanian Lion-Carols, in R. Gičeva, K. Rabadžiev (eds.), *Pitúē – Studia in honorem Prof. Ivani Marazov*, Anubis, Sofia, 188-208.

Observaţii asupra modelului confluenţial şi asupra genezei limbii române, in O. Ichim, F.-T. Olariu (eds.), *Identitatea limbii şi literaturii române în perspectiva globalizării*, Academia Română, Institutul de Filologie Română „A. Philippide", Publishing house Trinitas, Iași, 81-92.

Despre împuşcătura din Swift Hall, in N. Gavriluţă (ed.), *Ioan Petru Culianu – Memorie şi interpretare*, Publishing house T, Iași, 55-62.

Ideologie şi indoeuropenistică, in Ş. Afloroaei (ed.), *Interpretare & ideologie*, Axis, Iași, 213-237.

2001

Demeter as 'Earth-Mother' and Dionysos as 'Earth's Bridegroom', in *Orpheus – Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies*, 11, 53-63.

Corespondenţe egipto-(indo)europene în vocabularul legat de toponimele isoglosei TAPA/TABA şi de radicalul *tap-, in *Thraco-Dacica*, Tome XXII, No. 1-2, p. 5-14.

English and Romanian – A Complex Relationship, in *Analele Universităţii "Dunărea de Jos" din Galaţi*. Fascicol XIII, Limbă şi Literatură, 123-126.

Etimologia – ştiinţă a adevărurilor succesive şi incomplete, in Ş. Afloroaei (ed.), *Limite ale interpretării*, Axis, Iași, 9-22.

2000

The Shape of Sacredness: From Prehistoric Temples to Neo-Byzantine Churches. in *ReVision*, Vol. 23, No. 1, Washington, D.C., 27-37.

Radicalul AR- 'a (se) face, a alcătui' > 'a cultiva, a ara' în limbi indoeuropene şi ne-indoeuropene, in *Thraco-Dacica*, Tome XXI, No. 1-2, 5-12.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Probleme ridicate de vechi germanisme păstrate în română – cazurile bardă *şi* budă, in *Studii şi cercetări lingvistice,– Omagiu lui Gheorghe Mihăilă, la a 70-a aniversare¸* LI, 2, Publishing house of Romanian Academy, București, 395-417.

Antroponime şi apelative în cadrul raporturilor lingvistice albano-române, in *Fonetică şi dialectologie,* XIX *– Omagiu lui Andrei Avram, la a 70-a aniversare* Academia Română. Institutul de Fonetică şi Dialectologie, București, 267-273.

Struggle for Language in Anglo-Norman Times, in *From Margin to Centre.* Volum cuprinzând lucrări prezentate la *International Conference "From Margin to Centre", 31 oct.-2 nov. 1996, Iaşi,* Universitas XXI, 57-61.

1999

The Significance of Old Germanic Elements Preserved in Romanian, in N. Reiter (ed.), *Eurolinguistik – Ein Schritt in die Zukunft,* Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 175-190.

*On Indo-European and Egyptoid (Fertile-Crescent) Correspondents of Thracian –*poris, in *Thraco-Dacica,* Tome XX, No. 1-2, 13-16.

1998

Phrygian and the Aegeo-Balkan Namenbund, in N. Tuna, Z. Aktüre, M. Lynch (eds.). *Thracians and Phrygians – Problems of Parallelism,* Faculty of Architecture Press. [In the same volume, in the annex "Panel Discussion", pp. 160-161, 163-164, 171, 172, are found the interventions of Adrian Poruciuc at the round table that ended the symposium "Thracians and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism", Ankara, 1995], Ankara, 115-118.

Scurtă introducere în domeniul elementelor moştenite de limbi europene din idiomuri preistorice egiptoide avându-şi originea în Semiluna Fertilă, in *Thraco-Dacica,* Tome XIX, No. 1-2, 7-14.

Proiecţii ale imaginarului în poemul Beowulf, in *Limbaje şi comunicare – III,* volum cuprinzând lucrările *Colocviului Internaţional de Ştiinţe ale Limbajului – Ediţia a IV-a, 16-18 oct, 1997, Suceava,* Publishing House Junimea, Iași, 190-195.

Review: *From the Realm of the Ancestors – An Anthology in Honor of Marija Gimbutas, ed. Joan Marler, Knowledge, Ideas & Trends, Manchester,1997,* in *SAA*, 5, p. 236-239.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

1997

The Romanian Dolf *and the Greek* delphis-delphys-Delphoi *problem*, in J. Marler (ed.), *From the Realm of the Ancestors – An Anthology in Honor of Marija Gimbutas*, Knowledge, Ideas & Trends. Manchester, 130-134.

Aegeo-Balkan onomastics and Fertile-Crescent roots, in P. Roman (ed.), *The Thracian World at the Crossroads of Civilizations*, vol. I Institutul Român de Tracologie. Vavila, Bucureşti, 218-235.

Paleo-Balkan Elements in Macedo-Romanian, in D. L. Dyer. (ed.), *Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Zbigniew Gołąb. Balkanistica*, No 10, The SE European Studies Association, 325-334.

Implications of an etymologic relationship: Gk. nemos – *Lat.* nemus – *Gaul.* nemeton *and European* NEM(ET*) ethnonyms*, in *SAA*, 3-4, 161-164.

O propunere de re-introducere în domeniul elementelor vechi germanice păstrate în limba română, in *Volum omagial Vasile Arvinte*. AUI,Tome XLIII, Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, 207-225.

Cronică: *The International Symposium Thracians and Phrygians – Problems of Parallelism, Ankara, June 3-8, 1995*, in *SAA*, 3-4, 275-280.

1996

Wulfstan – An Old English Document and Its Indo-European Implications. In K. Jones-Bley, M. E. Huld (eds.), *The Indo-Europeanization of Northern Europe.* Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph No. 17, Washington, D.C, 247-254.

Specific Features of the Aegeo-Balkan Namenbund. in *The 7th International Congress of Thracology – Reports and Summaries*, Institutul Român de Tracologie, Bucureşti, 327-328.

Chronicle: *Simpozionul internaţional Tracii şi frigienii: Probleme de paralelism, Ankara, 3-6 iunie 1995*, in *Thraco-Dacica*, Tome XVII, No. 1-2, 311-313.

1995

Ce (mai) este de substrat în limba română, in *Limba română*, Chişinău, 6, 37-41.

Marija Gimbutas, 1921-1994, in *ArhMold*, XVIII, 361-364.

The etymology of Dac. deva *in connection with Gk.* Thebai *and with Palaeobalkan phonology*, in *Thraco-Dacica*, Tome XVI, No. 1-2, 275-283.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Rom. apă – *lat.* aqua: *o relaţie etimologică de reconsiderat*, in *Limbaje şi comunicare* (173-177). *Colocviul Internaţional de Ştiinţe ale Limbajului (15-17 octombrie 1993, Suceava)*, Institutul European, Iași.

1994

Linguistic Aspects of the Romanian-Saxon Contact in Transylvania, in Carol A. Blackshire-Belay (ed.), *The Germanic Mosaic – Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Society*, Greenwood, London, 95-104.

Review: *Gheorghe Sarău, Mic dicţionar rom-român, Bucureşti, Editura Kriterion,* 1992, in *Limbă şi literatură*, 3-4, 129-131.

1993

Observaţii asupra scrierii şi a relaţiei pronunţie-scriere (cu referire specială la limbile indoeuropene), in *Thraco-Dacica*, Tome XIV, No. 1-2, 5-12.

On Palaeo-Balkan Names in Romanian Onomastics, in *Banatica*, 12, 339-346. [The article, published without the author's proofreading, contains many typographical errors, especially in the illustrative examples].

Review: *A Remarkable Issue: Orpheus, 1, 1991*, in *Thraco-Dacica*, Tome XIV, 179-181.

1992

Problems and Patterns of the SE European Ethno- and Glottogenesis (ca. 6500 BC – AD 1500), in *The Mankind Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, 3-41.

Onomastica românească în perspectivă paleo- şi panbalcanică, in *Symposia Thracologica*, 9, 187-190.

Observaţii asupra filonului paleobalcanic din antroponimia românească, in *Thraco-Dacica*, Tome XIII, No. 1-2, 15-23.

Cronică: *Conferinţă de balcanistică la Chicago*, in *Studii şi cercetări lingvistice*, Tome XLIII, No. 5, 515-517.

Review: *Marija Gimbutas, The Language of the Goddess, San Francisco, Harper & Row, 1989*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "A.D. Xenopol"*, Tom XXIX, Iași, 475-478.

1991

Folk Etymology (in English and Elsewhere), in *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics*, 16, 53-58.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

1990

TOPOR and BALTAG – Two Lexical Relics from the Copper-Bronze Age. *Kurier*, 15, 195-208. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer.

Lexical Relics (Rom. teafăr, *Germ*. Zauber, *Engl*. tiver) – *A Reminder of Prehistoric Red-Dye Rituals*, in *The Mankind Quarterly* (Washington, D.C.). Vol. XXX. No. 3 (205-224).

Rom. CODRU explicat pe teren indoeuropean-balcanic, in *Thraco-Dacica*, Tome XI, No. 1-2, 193-208.

Rose Ausländer – Un trandafir de Bucovina, in Corbea, M. Astner (eds.), *Kulturschaft Bukovina*, Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, 232-236.

Sufixe toponimice româneşti interpretate de Iorgu Iordan, in *Iorgu Iordan – 100 ani de la naştere*, Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, 105-116.

1988

Gheorghe Ivănescu's Contribution to the Study of Indo-European, in *AUI. Lingvistică*, Tom XXXIV, 82-92.

1987

The 'Japhetic Connection' as Suggested by Etymologic-Mythologic Correspondences like Hittite Istanus – *Hungarian* Isten *and Old Norse* Thunarr – *Turkish* Tanrı", in *AUI. Lingvistică,* Tom XXXIII, 27-32.

1986

Allan Tate: *Hardy's Philosophic Metaphors*, in G. Vereş, H. Hulban, D. Dorobăţ (eds.) *Curs practic de limba engleză*, Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, 26-31.

Ernest Hemingway: Big Two-Hearted River, in G. Vereş, H. Hulban, D. Dorobăţ (eds.), *Curs practic de limba engleză*, Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, 207-212.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

1983

Symbolic Values in Shakespeare's Inter-National Plots. in *First Symposium of English and American Studies, October 29-31, 1982,* Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași, 82-84.

The Making of an Original Personage – Voiculescu's Dark Lady, in *AUI. Literatură,* Tom XXIX, 83-90.

1981

Emily Dickinson, in H. Perez, Ş. Avădanei, D. Dorobăţ (eds.), *A Guide to American Literature* (384-402), Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași.

E. E. Cummings, in H. Perez, Ş. Avădanei, D. Dorobăţ (eds.), *A Guide to American Literature* (461-465), Publishing house of „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University, Iași.

Aspecte ale intersecţiei ca valoare în limbajul poetic, in *Cunoaştere. Creativitate. Comunicare*. Vol. II. Supplement to the Tome XXVII of AUI, 109-113.

1980

Review: *Herbert Pilch/ Hildegard Tristram: Altenglische Literatur, Heidelberg: Winter, 1979,* in *AUI, Lingvistică,* Tom XXVI, 133-134.

1978

Esenţă şi identitate în creaţia poetică, in *AUI, Literatură,* Tom XXIV, 55-65.

1975

The Dramatic Triangle with Shakespeare and Voiculescu, in *AUI. Lingvistică-Literatură,* Tom XXI, 71-76.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

About the Gold Pendants from the Copper Age. Origins, Evolution, Dynamics

GHEORGHE LAZAROVICI*, CORNELIA-MAGDA LAZAROVICI**

Abstract: In the present study we aim to analyze and make a new classification of violin- shaped gold pendants and those associated with them made of other materials. We established several types and subtypes, taking into account their modeling characteristics (body, head, details), but also their symbolism. The presence of many gold specimens attests to a certain status of the characters who wore them during life, but also after death (military or religious elites, prominent members of the community, maybe even families of goldsmiths). In the analysis of gold artifacts, we also referred to imitations made of copper, lead, silver, burnt clay, which we consider to have been made by craftsmen or people who knew the gold originals. The presence of the mentioned pendants, made of different materials, underlines again a certain social stratification and the presence of some elites, within the communities from the Copper Age. At the same time, their symbolism is largely related to the representation of female elements, suggesting the attributes of the Great Mother, goddess of life and death.

Keywords: *Copper Age, golden pendants, characteristics symbolism, origin, evolution, dynamics, chronology*

It is sometimes questioned how the collected gold artifacts are to be called: „treasures" or „hoards". According to the terminology in our literature, the notion of „treasure" is preferred. Some colleagues use the term

* Lucian Blaga University, Sibiu; lazarovici.gheorghe.corneliu@gmail.com.

** Institute of Archaeology, Iași; magdamantu@yahoo.com.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

„treasure" for ceramic artifacts with some special associations, with the meaning of „valuable objects, gathered together and kept in a safe place"[1].

The natural gold wealth of Romania, especially of Transylvania and Banat, has determined people over time to pan gold from the sand (**Fig. 1c**). Based on the new C14 data (**Fig. 1.d**) the previous chronologies of the Copper Age are obsolete.

The main gold objects

The theme of violin-shaped idols, sometimes called *Trojan idols* or *en-violon idols*, to which some gold artifacts seem to belong, has been analyzed by several researchers such as Hortensia Dumitrescu, Dan Monah, Ion Mareș and others[2], including also the objects made of clay, copper, stone and gold.

Their number varies from one area to another, from one era to another, from one custom or ritual to another. For researchers in the Balkans, these objects are *idols,* given that many of these objects have anthropomorphic characteristics. Some researchers have defined the Carpathian-Danubian area as an *idol region*[3]. It is true that some authors consider them figurines, or even toys, but nowadays things are well known and there is no need to debate them here.

The largest gold artifact is the violin-shaped idol from Moigrad, discovered in one of the largest gold treasures of the Copper Age. The idol weighs over 764.4 grams, and a trident discovered with it is 102 cm long and weighs 200 grams[4]. The items were made of river gold, providing the most important correlations and meanings[5].

---

1 URSULESCU, TENCARIU 2009: 92, Fig. 5.

2 DUMITRESCU 1961; COMȘA 1974; MONAH 1978-1979; MAKKAY 1989; FOL *et al.* 1989: Pl. 9/1, 15.1; TODOROVA 1992; TODOROVA, VAJSOV 2001: 66-68, *Ringidole*; MAREȘ 2012: 228 ff.

3 EBERT 1924: *sub vocem* Idol Region; BACHMAYER 1972; ZAHLHAAS, ZABERN 1985; LAZAROVICI 2014: 243-271, no. 3; LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI, 2014b.

4 MAKKAY 1989: 68.

5 The most complex and rich are, of course, those in the necropolises of Varna and Durankulak; MAKKAY 1989: 68-94.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The Moigrad treasure, with its 381 pieces, also contains some later ones from the migration period and some modern ones, but not more than 10 pieces. There are over 370 prehistoric artifacts, many of which are related to the Copper Age. As a comparison, at Varna there are about 10 times as many discoveries[6], but none is as monumental as the idol from Moigrad. Following our research in the Jewelry Workshop at Cheile Turzii, we found that many of the discarded pieces were made of gold foil and had some symbols in common with those from Moigrad. At Moigrad, gold leaf plaques are associated with violin-shaped pendants[7].

Of course, gold artifacts have beyond their decorative role, also a symbolic one. Gold, the metal of brilliance and immortality, emphasizes the rank in this world[8]; placed in the grave, gold helps the deceased in their journey to the world of darkness, it shows their position as leaders in this world. Copying them in clay or copper, summing up a smaller number of items, also suggests the lower ranks of those who wore them. Later, in Sumerian myths, Queen Inanna, queen in this world, when arriving at the gates of Underworld, where her sister, Ereshkigal was ruling, is forced to abandon her royal insignia and some ornaments[9].

The riches of Varna and Moigrad show us that some members of these communities were not poorer than the legendary queens of the Middle East. The example in Varna shows that not only some elites were rich, but also the fact that this prosperity extended to a larger number of members from that community. Regarding the Moigrad treasure, the largest treasure in our regions, various hypotheses have been proposed regarding its owners (military elites, communities), as well as where it could have been kept (in sanctuaries) and so on[10].

---

6 NIKOLOV 2010: 490, 3000 gold artifacts, amounting to 6.5 kg; TODOROVA 2007.

7 See below the treasures of Naxos, Zas Cave; in the workshop from Cheile Turzii over 85 items lost by the craftsmen or rejected: PALAGHIE *et al.* 2021; at Aravisos etc.

8 MAKKAY 1989: 102, Tiszaszőlős.

9 KRAMMER 1962: 221, 224, as payment for passing: at the third gate – the lapislazuli necklace; at the fifth gate – the gold ring from her finger; at the fourth gate – the *n u n u z* beads from the chest… and many others.

10 MAKKAY 1989: 102.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The gold pendants

The term *violin-shaped* can only be used for some artifacts, but others are different, although they have many things in common. The most numerous treasured objects are beads and pendants, which adorned parts of the body (head, neck, hands, etc.) or clothing items (hats, vests, belts, etc.). Numerous specialists have analyzed them, they made typologies, they specified chronological, and especially cultural links, and all this in a period when modern methods of dating were not yet available. Gold pendants, due to their precious metal quality, were intended, as we have already shown, for prestige, to elites with privileged status (social - religious, political)[11], being hoarded and often accompanying their owners to the grave. For example, in Varna, in G4, the gold items weigh 1.125 kg and about 2,000 artifacts are beads[12]. A common element in all these pendants are the human symbols as head, eyes, mouth, maybe ears, breasts, belly. Most of them suggest the feminine attributes of the Great Mother.

Over time, some typologies have been made for violin pendants or idols, due to researchers such as H. Dumitrescu[13], J. Makkay[14], D. Monah[15], I. Mareș[16] and others[17].

Most of the artifacts deserve the name of idols, because some clues suggest parts with significant symbolism of the human body, especially female (**Fig. 2a, d**) as we said, but there are also some with masculine attributes related to the phallus (**Fig. 2.b**; **Fig. 15.n**). There are also some attributes of the sign of masculine power, such as the trident (**Fig. 2.c**), a symbol of the god of the seas, Poseidon.

In the present study, we ordered some artifacts according to the previous typological criteria, but we also analyzed some details related to

---

[11] IVANOV 1988; LICHARDUS, FOL 1988; SZENTMIKLOSI, DRAȘOVEAN 2004: 67-68; LEAHU 2009: 3-6.

[12] HANSEN *et al.* 2019: NIKOLOV 2010: 490.

[13] DUMITRESCU 1961.

[14] MAKKAY 1989: 42ff.

[15] MONAH 1978-1979.

[16] MAREȘ 2012: 228 ff.

[17] COMȘA 1974; VÁGÓ 2015; MONAH 1978-1979.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

their symbolism, regarding some parts or elements of the human body. Of course, some holes have a functional role: that of being pinned on clothing items (hats, tiaras, vests, etc.), but at the same time they also transmit a symbolic message, especially since gold was considered an immortal metal.

The golden idol from Greece (unknown place of discovery) has holes for the eyes and knees (**Fig. 2.a**), next to which we mention a golden idol from Varna and other situations there (**Fig. 2.d**)[18], which bring arguments not only for the interpretation of the pendants as idols, but also where they were worn (eyes, forehead, face, chest, waist, etc.). Also from Greece, two items depict phalloi with testicles (symbol of fertility used also later), one of which is erect (**Fig. 2.b**), the other flaccid (**Fig. 15.n** or represents idols with breasts?). Therefore, the items are not just simple ornaments, they also suggest some symbolic messages besides the details related to their operation or the fastening or hanging methods. Some of the pendants show or suggest breasts, eyes, belly, navel and others.

But most pendants suggest a female body, possibly the symbol of the Great Mother, whose protection was probably sought. Other artifacts also suggest mythological characters with feminine features: anthropomorphic pendants, some of which have eyes, mouths, arms like gliding wings and a claw under the breasts made in the *au repoussé* technique[19]. We should not be surprised, because in the Moigrad hoard there are approx. 29 claws modeled from thin sheet, some being copies modeled after claws of birds of prey.

Two pendants from the Moigrad hoard suggest eagles. At the first pendant, the embossed breasts are marked by three strings of fine incised lines, arranged in concentric circles surrounding them, the eyes are rendered by two incomplete perforations under which, also in the *au repoussé* technique, a swelling/dewlap is rendered; the item has arms shaped like eagle wings[20]. The second pendant, also with breasts, with an elongated head, has a dewlap and a stylized rhombic head, the dewlap being specific to some species of eagle[21]. The same symbols and shapes as on the first pendant

---

18 LICHARDUS, FOL 1988: cover 4.

19 MAKKAY 1989: Pl. 11.1; a similar shape at Ercsi, MAKKAY 1989: Pl. 12.1-2.

20 MAKKAY 1989: Pl. 11.1.

21 MAKKAY 1989: Pl.10.2.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

described above from Moigrad appear in other treasures too, such as the one from Ercsi[22].

According to their size, some items were attached to the vest or gala costume of a female character (possibly a priestess or a princess), an important character anyway. They symbolize the rank, the power of the possessors of these treasures; some treasures are thought to have been collected over time by some families, and some authors believe that the ranks of these families may be hereditary. On the other hand, it is not excluded that the Moigrad hoard belonged to the family that had a goldsmith, perhaps even to a member of that family, because many items of the same type suggest the existence of craftsmen. In fact, later myths in Homeric Greece speak of metallurgical gods such as the famous Hephaestus[23], the god of metallurgy[24].

Catalog of the artifacts

We set out to make a new typological classification, starting from the previous works, classifying the artifacts according to their form and certain details, taking into account several distinct criteria. We also introduced new variants, ordering them, taking partially into account the functionality, but also other criteria that we specify in each case.

From the approximately round gold disks of various thicknesses, the craftsmen could make other types of gold items, but they could also be used for trading and exchange (**Fig. 3**). We know such items from Pietrele (**Fig. 3.b**)[25]. The same group would include four small round objects made form gold plate, from eastern Germany, from Lepizig-Zwenkau (**Fig. 3.c-d**)[26]. The tomb in which they were discovered was

[22] MAKKAY 1989: Pl. 12.1-2.
[23] First mention: CAMPEN 2004: 27 ff.
[24] SZENTMIKLOSI, DRAȘOVEAN 2004: 68, Fig. 55.
[25] HANSEN 2007.2: 345, Abb. 16.
[26] CAMPEN 2004: 27ff, at Zwenkau Leipzig.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

originally considered Late Neolithic, and later dated to the Bronze Age, the Glockenbecher culture[27].

Type A disks

Among the earliest items there are four polyhedral gold disks from Zwenkau, discovered in a tomb attributed to the Glockenbecher culture. Although very small, only 4 mm, one can see traces of cutting on them (polyhedral, **Fig. 3.d**), but also from the soldering of gold nuggets by beating[28] (**Fig. 3.b**). At the dimensions of 4 mm we notice the skill of the craftsmen. The connections with our areas are only the techniques of cutting and soldering by beating[29]. There are a number of similar specimens made of copper at Brad[30].

Type A1

In this category we included round disc pendants, with eyes and mouth marked in relief or slightly pressed, with or without dots in the *au repoussé* technique, which sometimes mark the edge; they appear in the discoveries from Brad (**Fig. 3.e**)[31]. There are analogies in the clay specimens from Târpești (**Fig. 4.c**)[32] and Cucuteni-*Cetățuia* (**Fig. 4.g**) and the copper specimens from Hăbășești (**Fig. 4.d**[33]) and Cărbuna (**Fig. 4.e**)[34], which imitate

---

[27] Kind info from Harald Stäuble (2022): re-analyzed by MECKING 2009-2010, Tab. 1 with analyzes.

[28] Macroscopic observations in Cheile Turzii on the gold plates: LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI, VLASSA 2020 with the bibliography. At the dimensions of 4 mm we notice the skill and the scrupulosity of the craftsmen.

[29] MAKKAY 1989: 61, Pl. 11.2; About beating: Iliad: SZENTMIKLOSI, DRAȘOVEAN 2004: 47, Fig. 27, the Workshop from Peștera Ungurească: LAZAROVICI *et al.* 2015: Fig. 39a, d, e-f etc

[30] URSACHI 2012: copper disc, fig. 13.1-3, 30; MAREȘ 2012: no. 83.2287.

[31] URSACHI 1992; MAREȘ 2012: 259, Pl. 84, Cat. 2358; DERGACHEV, PARNOV 2022: 56-57, Fig. 40.14-15.

[32] MARINESCU-BÎLCU 1981: Pl. 198, Fig. 17-19.

[33] MONAH 1978-1979.

[34] MONAH 1978-1979: Fig. 3.1-3, 5-8; LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2009: 18, Cat. 4.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

the *au repoussé* technique, but those artifacts have eyes and mouth, like other variants.

We believe that they imitated the ornaments (type A3) worn by the social-religious elites (**Fig. 4.b**). At Sha'ar Hagolan the divinity has a shell decoration, but also a staff/scepter, as a sign of power, and a pointy head (**Fig. 20.b**). The item from Hăbășești (**Fig. 20.a**) bears those pendants probably fastened on a leather vest[35]. Among the plastic representations of the Cucuteni culture there are other female idols with a similar decoration, sometimes placed on the abdomen, on the waist above the hips[36] (**Fig. 20.c-d**) or as hair ornaments, as at Trușești and Cucuteni-*Cetățuia*[37].

In the case of round disc pendants, the two holes marked the eyes, if they were hung, with or without a necklace, the mouth is a small concavity (**Fig. 4.a-b**), and on others a perforation (**Fig. 4.d-f**). The great variety of this type of clay artifacts, which imitate gold or copper types, shows that this kind of items were known, and those who imitated them did not clumsily reproduce what was made of gold and copper.

Certainly the social-religious elites had gold items which inspired those who copied them in clay, rendering the eyes, the *au repoussé* technique, the curvature of the body and/or head that suggested the mouth, which was sometimes marked (as in **Fig. 4.g**).

The artifact from Cărbuna (**Fig. 4.e**) has analogies in a lead artifact from Ikiztepe, Anatolia (**Fig. 4.e1**).

The differences in time are not large, because between Precucuteni II-III – Cucuteni A1-A2 there are between 300 and 100 years in common, according to C14 data (**Fig. 7**, our markings in brown and dark blue)[38]. For more accuracy, the cultural and chronological series should be observed based on the features in which there are common elements. These were demonstrated by us for Trușești[39], but they are also present at Târpești[40].

---

[35] Such as the Romanian peasants' vests from the 19th-20th c., closing on one side, and the items attached on the opposite side, in this case left.

[36] Costești-*Cier*, ENEA *et al.* 2020: Fig. 4.

[37] MONAH 2012: Fig. 82/6, 83/1.

[38] LAZAROVICI 2010: Fig. 2; DIACONESCU 2014.

[39] LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2011: 30; LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI, 2016; LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2021.

[40] See features L1, L11, L5, L19 and others for the Ariușd - Bodești-*Frumușica* relations, L5, L9, L11, Cucuteni A1-A2.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Type A2 (Fig. 5)

Artifacts of this type have a discoidal shape, with three protrusions that could mark a human face (**Fig. 4.b1-b2, 6**; **Fig. 5.a-b**: eyes and mouth) or head and breasts (**Fig. 5.c-d**). These (**Fig. 5**) are larger and heavier, with two symmetrical perforations. They all have on the edges two or three rows of dots made in the *au repoussé* technique.

Some have three or four rows of dots below the perforations (unknown: **Fig. 5.a**[41]), others dots in a doubled V-shape (Csáford type: **Fig. 5.b1-b2**)[42]. Depending on the position of the dots, if they were hung around the neck with or without necklaces, the protrusions could suggest the eyes and the mouth (**Fig. 5.a, b1**), and if they were attached to parts of the clothing, they symbolized the breasts or belly (**Fig. 5.c-d**). Two other artifacts similar in shape and decoration, also made of gold, are from the Stollhof hoard, Wiener Neustadt, Ludanice B - Bodrogkeresztúr B culture, similar to those in Hungary in shape and decoration (**Fig. 5.a**), but also to the one from Slovakia, type Stollhof[43] (**Fig. 5e**).

There is also the possibility that the character, while wearing the medallion when invoking the divinity, sees from above the symbols upside-down. There is such a situation with the *light vessel* or *candle* from Zorlențu Mare, with the role of altar for sacrifice by burning, where on two sides the images are overturned, one of them being addressed to the divinity, who saw from above the house there, the small household sanctuary[44].

The heavy weight of this type of item required two points to be fixed or hung around the neck, which in this case would suggest the head and breasts[45]. The items from Hungary are dated between 4000-3700 BC[46]. Similar items are at Varna, in G36[47]. We believe that all these characteristics are related to the women's gala costume (for the priestess or princess). They remind us of the myths of the *Golden Wool* or the *Amazons* of Greek mythology. We cannot

---

41 VÁGÓ 2015: 94. II.22.
42 VÁGÓ 2015: 92-93.
43 KOVÁRNÍK 2020.
44 LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2014a: 206, 216, Fig. 53.
45 VÁGÓ 2015: 92-93, the weight being between 23 and 81 grams from gold foils to plates.
46 VÁGÓ 2015: 92-93.
47 TODOROVA 2007: Varna, grave G36.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

forget the custom of the gold panners from Apuseni Mountains, who used sheepskins to capture the nuggets or the gold dust.

Type A3

This type has two variants: with or without holes (soldered or applied - **Fig. 6.7-8**), coming from Varna (G3 and G36)[48]. Sometimes the bulge is prominent, reminiscent of type A1. The shape is discoidal, flat or convex, suggesting the belly: it appears especially in large numbers in Varna in dozens of specimens and tombs[49]; sometimes, on masked cenotaphs, these items cover or suggest the eyes, but they also appear on other parts of the body, on clothes.

More interesting are the discoveries from two masked cenotaphs from Varna, from G2 and G3[50], where gold items on the forehead remind of the "T" type of Makkay, perforated plates with beads suggesting the mustache, earrings in the ears, etc.

Most of the time, their role is to decorate. Some of them, smaller, with a bulging belly, also as decorations, appear on idols, like on the one in **Fig. 2.d,** suggesting the cheeks or navel. Of course, in other places they may have other meanings, but they come to emphasize certain embellishment habits of the people of those times.

Type A4 (Fig. 8)

The type evolves to oval ones, according to some researchers[51], marking the top of the head, the head, sometimes the eyes. Of this type are six gold items from Hencida[52], to which is added a specimen from Iziktepe from a tomb[53].

The main elements of this group are between Precucuteni II and Bodrogkeresztúr. In the first part of this period are the Precucuteni III

---

48 LICHARDUS, FOL 1988: 50; SLAVCHEV 2010: 200; SLAVCHEV 2010a.

49 TODOROVA 2007.

50 LICHARDUS, FOL 1988: 56-57, cover 4, Abb. 26-27; RUSEV, BOYADZHIEV 2010: Fig. 116.a-b.

51 LAZAROVICI *et al.* 2009: Cat. 4; MAREȘ 2012: *sub vocem*, oval pendants.

52 VÁGÓ 2015: Pl. II.214/1, 3, 6, 11, 13 +1 w/o number; CSEDREKI, DANI 2011: gold analyzes.

53 LICHTER 2008: 195, Abb. 3, grave G246.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

discoveries, contemporary with Tiszapolgár A and part of Tiszapolgár B, according to C14 data (**Fig. 7**).

We are interested in a group that has connections with the treasure/deposit from Cărbuna, from Precucuteni III/Cucuteni A[54], where there are a series of variants of copper idols (**Fig. 8.c-d**), some used as applied elements, which developed into several clay variants.

Many of these have one or two mounting holes; some are decorated in the *repoussé* technique, like the copper and gold items, but which develop a great variety of forms in clay and less often in stone, in the old phases of the Cucuteni culture[55], but also probably in Herpály at Oradea-*Salca*, where there are two artifacts of clay (**Fig. 8.e**)[56].

A series of artifacts similar as shape, made of copper, but with one or two fastening holes, comes from Cărbuna. On these, two protrusions mark the eyes or the mouth (**Fig. 8.c**) or maybe the breasts and the belly; another item, also made of brass, has an elongated head (**Fig. 8.d**)[57]. The hoard from Cărbuna is attributed to the Precucuteni III/Cucuteni A stage.

The Precucuteni culture raises a series of questions regarding its relative and absolute chronology. From the point of view of the relative chronology, since the Precucuteni II phase, there are Precucuteni-Cucuteni contacts and mutual loans. However, the fabric of Precucuteni pottery is different from that of the Cucuteni culture pottery, and in the central and eastern areas of Moldova the two coexist[58], as evidenced by the materials from Trușești[59], Târpești[60], Scânteia, Ruginoasa[61], Dobrovăț[62] and probably from other settlements. The issue is that many colleagues, when processing

---

54 Cărbuna: DERGAČEV 1998; DERGAČEV 2002: 11, Pl. 1-8; LAZAROVICI *et al.* 2009: Cat. 4.

55 Often called Troyan Idols.

56 MONAH 1978-1979: Fig. 2.6, *apud* IGNAT SAVA 1976: 13, Fig. 1a-b; LUCA 1999: 128, Fig. 34/2-3, *en violon.*

57 MONAH 1978-1979: *apud* Sergheev; MAREȘ 2012.

58 LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2014: tables with connections.

59 LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2014; LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2016.

60 Comparison of incisions and painting at MARINESCU-BÎLCU 1981: in features L1, L9, L10, L11; possibly others too.

61 LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2012: Fig. VIIB.206-220, Precucuteni III.

62 LAZAROVICI *et al.* 2020: Fig. 23.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

ceramics, do not make fabric dictionaries or catalogs of decorations and do not make cultural seriation of archeological features.

According to many colleagues, the settlements are supposed to suddenly and abruptly cease their evolution, and switch to a new civilization "as ordered". These colleagues are advocates of the local evolution of the Cucuteni culture. For them, there are no settlements in involution, which end their existence in different time periods, although the C14 data indicate coexistences of 100 to 300 years. In some features, one can find shards with the fabric and the decoration of both cultures, but not belonging to the same pot.

Such a coexistence between two cultures is documented to have taken place between Starčevo-Criș and Vinča[63], but also between others (Iclod-Petrești). We demonstrated the coexistence of the two cultures, Precucuteni and Cucuteni, in Transylvania and at Trușești.

Type B (Fig. 9)

The type of gold pendant from Hatvan-Újtelep develops from the oval ones, the head begins to detach, and four holes allow it to be fixed or hung; the breasts and navel are marked.

The clay copies from Drăgușeni and Cucuteni-*Cetățuia*, with better or poorer rendered heads, have protrusions on the body made in the *repoussé* technique. They have one or two fixing holes on the head, suggesting the eyes or mouth through dots (**Fig. 9.b-d**). Other copies made of clay, discovered at Scânteia, with one or two perforations in the head area (**Fig. 9.g-h**), do not have any other decoration. On the gold item from Vitănești one can see traces of cold soldering by hammering (**Fig. 9.f**)[64].

---

63 LAZAROVICI 1977: Pl. LI; LAZAROVICI, NICA 1991; LAZAROVICI 1993.

64 ANDREESCU *et al.* 2009; for the soldering through beating technique see: LAZAROVICI *et al.* 2015: 325ff, Fig. 39.a, d, e-f.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Type C (Fig. 10-11)

Subvariant C1

This series includes pendants with a bulging body, with eyes, with an evolution of the top of the head from straight (Vărăști, **Fig. 10.a**) to conical, taller (Varna, tombs G26, G36, **Fig. 10.b-c**)[65] or shorter (Hotnica, **Fig. 11.c**)[66]. They can be divided in several variants. A clay copy of this subvariant comes from Hăbășești, having the same kind of head (**Fig. 10.d**). We must note in the latter a series of decorations on the face, which remind us of the tentacles of an octopus, and on the back it has a series of hatched triangles (**Fig. 10.d**).

Other specimens have a discoidal body, in some cases the top of the head seems to be suggested (**Fig. 11.b-c**) and the two perforations probably suggest the eyes (**Fig. 11.b-d**). Sometimes there are three holes, the middle one being for fastening or hanging (**Fig. 11.a**).

Subvariant C2

Subvariant C2 makes the transition to other types that have a perforated belly, which evolved by enlarging the hole until they became ring pendants. It evolves from a round disc with two eyes (sometimes with a hole for fastening, fixing) to a slightly pointy top.

Subvariant C3 (Fig. 12)

In this sub-variant there are only items that are supposed to be hanged (necklaces, earrings, curl rings) or fastened on clothes. For this reason, they have a single hole, and the head varies in shape from rectangular to semicircular top. In fact, in many of the variants this evolution is observed. There are differences in the holes and the head. They do not have human attributes (breasts, eyes), but they have different shapes of the fixing head. They would just be pendants. Some of them can be classified as annular (**Fig. 12.c-d, f**). A specimen from Ikiztepe has two eyes (**Fig. 12.i**[67]), as well as the

65 LICHARDUS, FOL 1988: 275, Abb. 218, graves G26; G36, four artifacts.
66 BOYADZIEV, TERZIJSKA-IGNATOVA 2011: covers 1, 4.
67 MAKKAY 1989: Fig. 2.1; ZIMMERMANN 2007: 28, Fig. 3.1.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

ceramic one from Drama (**Fig. 12.j**). With the same characteristics, there are imitations made of ceramics (**Fig. 12.f-g** with solar motifs) or silver, with human forms, the one from Büyük Güllücek being unique (**Fig. 12.k** head, belly, arms).

Type D (Fig. 13)

Subvariant D1

The artifacts of this subvariant are represented by perforated discs with head and eyes, without other human attributes. The holes are used for fastening or hanging (curl ring). Most items have the head rendered trapezoidal (**Fig. 13.a-b, f**) or semicircular, with eyes rendered as perforations, with a role in fastening or hanging (**Fig. 13.c-d, e, g**), or rectangular (**Fig. 13. j, k**).

It should be noted that the most important and significant artifact of this subvariant is, due to its size, the idol of Moigrad (**Fig. 13.g**). This is a female idol with embossed breasts and a hole in her belly, like the entire D series. It was referred to by many specialists, being attributed to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture[68]. In terms of size, it is the largest artifact in this series. According to its feminine attributes, we believe that it was part of the gala costume of a princess/priestess, an opinion also expressed by J. Makkay for many other artifacts.

In fact, the other items in the series have the breasts marked with large conical prominences (**Fig. 13. h-j**), and on the item from Progar (**Fig. 13.i**) the eyes and the mouth are rendered, as on the items from above (**Fig. 5**). The specimens from Vitănești, Târgu Mureș[69] and from Greece (**Fig. 13. j, k**) have a rectangular head, the breasts are marked, but they are very small compared to others. The specimens in **Fig. 13.m-r** do not have marked breasts.

---

[68] Treasure classification sheet N. Vlassa 13.02.1970 and old bibl.; PATAY 1944-1945; 1958; 1975 and old bibl.; DUMITRESCU 1961; FETTICH 1953; DUMITRESCU 1974: Fig. 293; MAKKAY 1976: 280ff; 1989, Pl. 11.1; WULLSCHLEGER 2008: Cat. 88; LEAHU 2009; HANSEN 2013: 145, Fig. 1,2, 750-800 grams; OANȚĂ-MARGHITU 2014: 187-189; LAZAROVICI *et al.* 2015: 339, Fig. 20.a; and others.

[69] In the Fortress there is a Bodrogkeresztúr vessel: KOVÁCS 1932; LAZAROVICI 2016a.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

We left two artifacts out of the series: one made of clay from *Pevkakya Magula*-Volos from the early Rachmani culture (**Fig. 13.s**) and one from Sesklo, unique (**Fig. 13.t**). Of course, this is a formal analysis, we do not know how things really happened, whether or not our observations were relevant. These evolutions are suggested by other artifacts, although these are ceramic imitations: an artifact semicircular in the lower part from Trușești (**Fig. 10.e**)[70], another also made of burnt clay, which has the perforation suggested by a circle around which there are solar motifs (characteristic for the pottery) from Drama (**Fig. 12.j**), as well as from Büyük Güllücek (**Fig. 12.k**).

Subvariant D2 (fig. 14)

The artifacts of this subvariant are among the earliest in Slovakia, belonging to the Tiszapolgár A and B culture, being discovered in various tombs at Vel'ké Raskovce[71] (**Fig. 14.a-c**). There are several items from various graves, but some fragments may be from the same item, as the one we reconstructed in **Fig. 14.a** (where we associated the fragments published and marked with no. 3 and 4). The items of this subvariant could be derived from those with solid ovals or a hole on the belly. This is perhaps the best proof of the contemporaneity of the different types, made by the same craftsman (**Fig. 14**). There are two artifacts with analogies to type B, but they are also part of this group (**Fig. 14.b-c**). Similar in shape, but with a different head are some from Hencida (compare **Fig. 14.a** with **Fig. 14.e**). There are differences in the shape of the head (**Fig. 14.d**) with two or four holes (**Fig. 14.f**), and on those from Tiszavalk-*Tetes* there are differences in the shape of the head, breasts or number of holes (4 to 6). These show that the deceased

[70] Trușești: DUMITRESCU 1961: Fig. 6.9, photo Gh. Lazarovici; MAKKAY 1989: Pl. 11.1; FETICH 1953: Pl. XLII.4; apud sheet by Vlassa for the treasure classification; ANTHONY, PERNICKA 2010: 173, Fig. 7.9-10.

[71] VIZDAL 1977: 43, Tab. XLII.5, G1, Fig. 25 from graves G17, Tab. XLII.1; G4, Tab. XLII.2; G44, Tab. XLII.3; G11, Tab. XLII.4.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

acquired them at different times, but from the same workshop of craftsmen[72]. In Romania this subvariant appears at Andrid - Korlát[73] (**Fig. 14.j**).

Some of them confirm the contemporaneity of some variants, but also the fact that they had holes for fastening (four each). The rendering of female features: breasts, perforated belly would suggest the lack of pregnancy, as opposed to the bulging body suggesting the presence of pregnancy, but this could be just an impression.

Type E (Fig. 15)

It is the annular type defined by H. Dumitrescu[74], but a finer analysis, related to the shape of the head, its height, the number of holes with a functional role or decoration suggests several variants. Some do not have marked breasts (**Fig. 15.a-e**); others are made of lead (**Fig. 15.a**).

The size and shape of the rings differ. On the artifact from Bükkábrány (**Fig. 15.l**) the eyes are marked in the *au repoussé* technique. A specimen is made of thin sheets (**Fig. 15.e**), like the rest of the artifacts in that hoard[75].

Conclusions

Our analysis has highlighted some conclusions, as well as the need to return to some terms formulated by us, taken over by other colleagues. Copper and gold items can be found as early as the Pre-Pottery Neolithic, and the Neolithic (**Fig. 15.p**). Regarding the *en violon* or *pebble idols* from Ostrovu Golu and later from Balta Sarată, we reviewed the terminology and showed that they were used in fishing nets[76].

---

[72] After the discoveries from Cheile Turzii, we believe that there are other workshops belonging to small communities, possibly vagrant: LAZAROVICI *et al.* 1995**;** LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2011; LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2012; LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI, VLASSA 2020; LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2013; LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2016; or to social-religious elites – the case of Moigrad, but others too, Slovakia, Austria: KOVÁRNÍK 2020.

[73] HÁGÓ 2020: Fig. 5-6, in secondary position; references to the area, in GINDELE, MARTA, VIRAG 2014: 13-14.

[74] DUMITRESCU 1961.

[75] MAKKAY 1989: 40, Fig. 1.6, apud Grammenos.

[76] LAZAROVICI 2016: 13-26; LAZAROVICI 2020: 139-143.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

We made some maps with the variants of pendants made of gold, silver, or lead, and their copies made of burnt clay, imitations that appear on wider areas (**Fig. 16**, more common in Moldova, where there are copies made of burnt clay that imitate gold or metal shapes, rendering not only the shape but also the *au repoussé* technique).

From the comparison of the two maps (**Fig. 16.a, b**) we notice that they overlap the areas rich in minerals used in copper and gold metallurgy. The moment of maximum development belongs to the time of the Bodrogkeresztúr – Knobbed Handles culture – Lasinja – Balaton cultures. From this period we have in Romania the largest brass ax of the Mezőkeresztes type, of 3150 grams and 43 cm from Vinga, another from Murani weighing 3004 grams[77], and the largest and heaviest gold idol from Moigrad, 764 grams, which has impressive dimensions, 31 x 24 cm[78].

Some researchers believe that some gold artifacts have an independent evolution and are characterized by European discoveries[79], as shown in the map (**Fig. 17)**.

In particular, we must emphasize the possible copying of gold models in burnt clay during the Precucuteni III and Cucuteni A phases (see **Fig. 8-9**). The great similarities indicate that those who modeled them could have saw the gold or copper specimens. Of course, convergence situations are not excluded either.

In our analysis we also specified a series of details regarding the shape of the body with several variants and details (round, semi-round, oval), head, neck, details about the head (shape, fixing holes, number of holes, eyes, mouth), the shape of the belly (bulging, flat, with holes), the representation of feminine attributes (breasts, belly), details regarding the decoration or its imitation.

The resulting matrix contains 119 archaeological situations with 48 attributes, which due to their size could not be included in this study. It

[77] Measured by Fl. Medeleț, on Friday, sept. 21st, 1974, in the presence of Gh. Lazarovici.

[78] There are various data, most are cited by: MAKKAY 1976: 280ff; 1989: 54 ff, Pl. 9.1, apud PATAY 1944-1945; 1958; 1975; DUMITRESCU 1974: Fig. 293; HANSEN 2013: 145, Fig. 12, 750-800 grams might have referred to more artifacts.

[79] ZIMMERMANN 2007.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

includes several clusters: a cultural group in Transylvania, Hungary, Slovakia, Eastern Austria, northern Croatia, dating from the period of Tiszapolgár-Bodrogkeresztúr-Balaton – Lasinia cultures.

Then we notice other groups: one Danubian (Gumelnița – Varna – GKD), one southern (Greece), another southeastern (central and western Anatolia), to which is added the eastern one from central and northern Moldova and Bessarabia with a different cluster, which has copies of burnt clay and copper, with some local evolutions towards Cărbuna-type idols.

The recent C14 data obtained from the graves from Urziceni, also valid for Moigrad, are between 4300-4100 BC, more precisely the average is between 4250-4150 BC (**Fig. 14.b**). Besides the pendants, there are small lids and wooden needles covered with gold leaf[80], with analogies to the F-type pendants at Cămin, Moigrad, in Hungary at Bükkábrány and others (see above **Fig. 15.f-m** and bibl.), which can be framed in Tiszapolgár B – Bodrogkeresztúr. These data correspond to those obtained for the Tiszapolgár B – Knobbed Handles (Toarte Pastilate – TP) (BK-TP) level from Cheile Turzii (**Fig. 19.c**).

The analysis of the pendants in the present study gave us the possibility to make a new classification, in which we introduced new criteria, besides those taken into account by other researchers before us. These characteristics are related to significance and details regarding the rendering of the human body. At the same time, we have included in our classification new artifacts that have appeared recently, which complete the corpus of discoveries of this type.

Annex

The new radiocarbon data (**Fig. 1d, 18.b, 19**) for the civilizations in which such pendants are found also offer new clues about the chronological interval in which items of this type appear, and the maps made by us also show the grouping of some of the most representative artifacts.

80 GINDELE, MARTA, VIRAG 2014: 7, Urziceni, grave G63.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Pendants made of clay, shell, bone, gold, copper (see above female attributes, **Fig. 2.a**, **d**) adorned the shoulders, chest, arms or cover the sex of some idols, mostly feminine, representing the Great Mother or her representatives on Earth (usually priestesses). Many of the representations on the pendants suggest this.

Translated by Alexandru Kovács

Bibliography

ANDREESCU *et al.* 2009	Andreescu, R. R., Mirea, P., Moldoveanu, K., Torcică, I., *Noi descoperiri în aşezarea gumelniţeană de la Vităneşti "Măgurice"*, in: *Buletinul Muzeului Judeţean Teleorman*, 1, 75-92.
ANGELI 1967	Angeli, W., *Der Depotfund von Stollhof*, in: *Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien*, 70, 491-496.
ANTHONY, PERNICKA 2010	Anthony, D. W., Pernicka, E., *The Invention of Copper metallurgy and the Copper Age of Old Europe*, in Anthony, D. W. (ed.), *The Lost World of Old Europe. The Danube Valley, 5000-3500 BC*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 162-177.
BACHMAYER 1972	Bachmayer, F. (ed.), *Idole. Prähistorische Keramiken aus Ungarn*, Naturhistorisches Museum, Wien.
BOYADZIEV, TERZIJSKA-IGNATOVA 2011	Boyadziev, Y., Terzijska-Ignatova, St. (eds.), *Zlatnoto Peto Xiljadoletnie. Traakia i Sednite raioni prez Kamenno-Mednata Epoha, The Golden Fifth Millenium. Thrace and its Neighbour Areas in the Chalcolithic, Proceedings of the International Symposium in Pazardzhik*, Yundola, 26-30.10.2009, Sofia.
BRUMMACK, DIACONESCU 2017	Brummack, S., Diaconescu, D., *A Bayesian approach to the AMS dates for the Copper Age in the Great Hungarian Plain*, in: *Praehistorische Zeitschrift*, 89 (2), 242-260.
CAMPEN 2004	Campen, I., *Die älteste Gold Sachsens stammt aus einem Steinzeitgrab bei Zwenkau*, in: *Archäologie in Sachsen*, 1, 2, 27-29.
COMȘA 1974	Comșa, E., *Figurinele de aur din aria de răspîndire a culturii Gumelnița*, in: *SCIVA*, XXV, 2, 181-190.
CSÁNYI *et al*. 2010	Csányi, M., Raczky, P., Tárnoki, J., *Das kupferzeitliche Gräberfeld von Rákóczifalva- Bagi-föld in Ungarn*, in: *Das Altertum*, 55, 241-270.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

CSEDREKI, DANI 2011 Csedreki, L., Dani, J., *A Hencidai rézkori aranykincsen végzett PIXE vizsgálatok tanúságai / Experiences of the PIXE Analyses Performed on the Copper Age Gold Treasure of Hencida*, in: *Archeometriai Műhely - Archaeometry Workshop*, No. 2011/4, 285-291.

DERGAČEV 1998 Dergačev, V. A., *Karbunskij klad. Cărbuna depozit*, Tipografia Academiei de Ştiinţe, Chişinău.

DERGAČEV 2002 Dergačev, V. A., *Die Äneolitischen und Bronzezeitlichen metallfunde aus Moldavien*, Prähistorische Bronzefunde Abteilung XX, Band 9, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart.

DERGACHEV, PARNOV 2022 Dergachev, V., Parnov, V., *The Codrița hoard*, Chișinău-Butuceni.

DIACONESCU 2014 Diaconescu, D., *Despre cultura Turdaş şi poziţia sa cronologică*, in: *Analele Banatului*, XXII, 67-88.

DUMITRESCU 1961 Dumitrescu, H., *Connections between the Cucuteni-Tripolie Cultural Complex and the Neighbouring Eneolithic Cultures in the Light of the Utilization of Golden Pendants*, in: *Dacia*, N.S., V, 69-93.

DUMITRESCU 1974 Dumitrescu, Vl., *Arta preistorică în România*, Ed. Meridiane, Bucureşti.

DUMITRESCU *et al.* 1954 Dumitrescu, Vl., Dumitrescu, H., Petrescu- Dîmboviţa, M., Gostar, N., *Hăbăşeşti, monografie arheologică*, Bucureşti, Ed. Academiei.

EBERT 1924 Ebert, M., (ed.), *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte. Band 7 Kleinasia-Malta*, De Gruyter, Berlin.

ENEA *et al.* 2020 Enea, S.-C., Boghian, D., Ignătescu, S., *Again about the social hierarchies symbols on the Cucutenian antropomorphic representations. Case study: The site from Costeşti-Cier, Iaşi County, Romania*, in: *Acta Musei Tiberiopolitani*, 3, 63-87.

FETTICH 1953 Fettich, N., *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der sarmatisch-dakischen Beziehungen*, in: *Acta Archaeologica*, 3, 128-178.

FOL *et al.* 1989 Fol, A., Katinčarov, R., Lichardus, J., Bertemes, F., Iliev, I. K., *Bericht über die bulgarisches-deutschen Ausgrabungen in Drama (1983-1988)*, in: *Bericht der Römisch- Germanischen Kommission*, 70, 5-128.

GARFINKEL 2004 Garfinkel, Y., *The goddess of Sha'ar Hagolan: excavations at a neolithic site in Israel*, Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society.

GEORGIEV 1988 Georgiev, G. I., *Die Kupferzeit (Karanovo V und Karanovo VI) in Bulgarien*, in: Fol, A., Lichardus, J. (eds.), *Macht, Herrschaft*

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

und Gold. Das Gräberfeld von Varna (Bulgarien) und die Anfänge einer neuen europäischen Zivilisation, Moderne Galerie des Saarland- Museums, Saarbrücken, 27-48.

GINDELE, MARTA, VIRAG 2014 Gindele, R., Marta, L., Virag, C. (eds), *Tezaure arheologice din județul Satu Mare,* Ed. Muzeului Sătmărean, Satu Mare.

HÁGÓ 2020 Hágó, A. N., *Egy rézkori aranycsungő Érendréd-Korlát lelőhelyről (Szatmár megye Románia)* in: *Tomka 80, Ünnepi tanulmányok Tornka Péter köszöntésére*, Győr, 215-222.

HANSEN 2007 Hansen, S., *Bilder vom Menshen der Steinzeit. Untersuchungen zur antropomorphen Plastik der Jungsteinzeit und Kupferzeit in Südosteuropa*, Archäologie in Eurasien, Band 20, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien-Alteilung, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz.

HANSEN *et al.* 2010 Hansen, S., Toderaş, M., Reingruber, A., Gatsov, I., Kay, M., Nedelcheva, P., Nowacki, D., Röpke, A., Wahl, J., Wunderlich, J., *Pietrele, „Măgura Gorgana". Bericht über die Ausgrabungen und geomorphologischen Untersuchungen im Sommer 2009*, in: *Eurasia Antiqua*, 16, 43–96.

HANSEN 2013 Hansen, S., *Innovative metals: Copper, Gold and Silver in the Black Sea Region and the Carpatian Basin During in the 5th and 4th Millenium BC,* in: Burmeister, S., Hansen, S., Kunst, M., Müller-Scheessel, N., (eds.), *Metal matters. Innovative technologies and social change in Prehistory and Antiquity*, 2, 137-167.

HANSEN *et al.* 2016 Hansen, S., Neumann, D., Vacha, T. (eds.), *Raum, Gabe und Erinnerung, Weihgaben und Heiligtümer in Prähitorischen und Antiken Gesellschaften*, Studies of the Ancient World, vol. 38, Edition Topoi, Freien Universität Berlin, Berlin.

HANSEN *et al.* 2019 Hansen, S., Montero-Ruiz, I., Rovira, S., Steiniger, D., Toderaş, M., *The earliest lead ore processing in Europe. 5th millennium BC finds from Pietrele on the Lower Danube,* in: PLoS ONE 14(4): e0214218, https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0214218 10 aprilie 2019.

IGNAT SAVA 1976 Ignat Sava, D., *Colecția veche neolitică a Muzeului Țării Crișurilor,* in: *Crisia*, VI, 7-20.

IVANOV 1988 Ivanov, I., *Das Gräberfeld von Varna*, in: Fol, A., Lichardus, J. (eds.), *Macht, Herrschaft und Gold. Das Gräberfeld von Varna (Bulgarien) und die Anfänge einer neuen europäischen Zivilisation,* Moderne Galerie des Saarland- Museums, Saarbrücken, 183-208.

KRAMMER 1962 Krammer, S. N., *Istoria începe la Sumer*, Bucureşti.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

KOVÁRNÍK 2020 Kovárnik, J., *Poznámka k zintenzivnění procesu tvorby elit a uspořádání societ v eneolitu I. Excluzivní přdměty v depotech*, in: *Musaica Archaeologica*, 2, 7-45

LAZAROVICI 1977 Lazarovici, Gh., *Gornea-Preistorie*, Reşiţa.

LAZAROVICI, NICA 1991 Lazarovici, Gh., Nica, M., *Chalcoliticul Balcano - Antolian*, in: *Cultura Vinča în România*, Timişoara, 5-17.

LAZAROVICI 1993 Lazarovici, Gh., *Aşezarea neolitică de la Zăuan II. Migraţie şi difuziune. Chalcoliticul balcano-anatolian. Propuneri pentru un sistem de analiză procesuală*, in: *AMP*, XVII, 11-47.

LAZAROVICI *et al.* 1995 Lazarovici, Gh., Meșter, M., Dascălu, L., Cheile Turzii 1994. *Raport de cercetare arheologică şi etnoarheologică*, in: *AMN*, XXXII/1, 537-574.

LAZAROVICI 2010 Lazarovici, C.-M., *New data regarding the chronology of the Precucuteni, Cucuteni and Horodiştea-Erbiceni cultures*, in: Kalábková, P., Kovár, B., Pavúk, P., Suteková, J. (eds.), *PANTA REI. Studies in chronology and cultural development of the SE and Central Europe in Earlier Prehistory presented to Juraj Pavúk on the occasion of his 75. Birthday*, Studia Archaeologica et Medievalia, XI, Bratislava, 91-114.

LAZAROVICI *et al.* 2009 Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh., Țurcanu, S., *Cucuteni. A Great Civilization of the Prehistoric World*, Ed. Palatul Culturii, Iaşi.

LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2011 Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., *Despre fazele A1 ale grupelor Ariuşd şi Cucuteni*, in: *Angustia*, XIV, 27-108.

LAZAROVICI *et al.* 2011 Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., Suciu, C., Chioar-Dumitrescu, Fl., Palaghie, V., Netea, Gh., Roman, C., Tincu, S., Colesniuc, S. M., Angeleski, S., Bindea, D., Ciută, B., *Cheile Turzii - Peştera Ungurească. Campania 2010*, in: *CCAR. Campania 2010*, Bucureşti, 93-96.

LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2012 Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh., *Ruginoasa - Dealul Drăghici. Monografie arheologică*, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava.

LAZAROVICI *et. al.* 2012 Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., Roman, C., Tincu, S., Netea, Gh., Palaghie, V., Chioar- Dumitrescu, Fl., Ciută, B., Colesniuc, S., Angeleski, S., Constantinescu, B., *Cheile Turzii – Peştera Ungurească, Raport de cercetare arheologică 2011*, in: *CCAR. Campania 2011*, București, 98-99.

LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2013 Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., *Etapa veche din atelierul de bijuterii de la Cheile Turzii - Peştera Ungurească*, in: Stavilă, A., Micle, D., Cîntar, A., Floca, C. and Forţiu, S. (eds.),

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Arheoinvest I. Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie şi Istorie. In Memoriam Liviu Măruia, JATEPress Kiadó, Szeged, 55-90.

LAZAROVICI 2014 Lazarovici, Gh., *Beginning of the Copper Age in Transylvania and some data regarding the copper and gold metallurgy*, in: Schier, W., Drașovean, Fl. (eds.), *The Neolithic and Eneolithic Southeast Europe. New Approaches to Dating and Cultural Dynamics in the 6th to 4th Millenium BC*, Prähistorische Archäeologie in Südosteuropa, Band 28, 243-271.

LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2014 Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., *Correlations and new observations regarding absolute chronology based on Banat and Transylvania researches*, in: Schier, W., Drașovean, Fl. (eds.), *The Neolithic and Eneolithic in Southeast Europe. New Approaches to Dating and Cultural Dynamics in the 6th to 4th Millenium BC*, Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Rahden / Westfalen, Verlag Marie Leidorf, 113-128.

LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2014a Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., *About the Great Religious Themes of Vinča Culture*, in: Ursu, C.-Em., Țerna, S. (eds.), *Anthropomorphism and symbolic behaviour in the Neolithic and Copper Age communities of South-Eastern Europe*, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer Suceava, 187-248.

LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2014b Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., *Some religious themes based on findings from Balta Sărată site and the around area (Banat)*, paper presentated at Caransebeș Symposium, 27-28 february 2014.

LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2015 Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., Constantinescu, B., *New Data and Analyses on Gold Metallurgy during the Romanian Copper Age*, in: Hansen, S., Raczky, P., Anders, A., Reingruber, A., *Neolithic and Copper Age between the Carpathians and the Aegean Sea. Chronologies and Technologies from the 6th to 4th Millennium BC. International Workshop Budapest 2012*, Habelt Verlag, Bonn, 325-352.

LAZAROVICI 2016 Lazarovici, Gh., *Despre „Pebbles Idol" - Greutate de plasă de pescuit. Tip şi funcţionalitate*, in: *Tibiscum*, S.N., VI, 13-26.

LAZAROVICI 2016a Lazarovici, Gh., *Epoca Cuprului-Eneolitic în Transilvania: principalele etape evolutive; legături cu Precucuteni-Cucuteni*. in: *Enciclopedia Cucuteni*, mss.

LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2016 Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., *Cultura Precucuteni în Transilvania*, in: *Analele Banatului*, XXIV, 37-74.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

LAZAROVICI *et al.* 2016	Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh., Suciu, C, Roman, C. C., Tincu, S., Colesniuc, S. M., Pop, R., Gridan, O., Aparaschivei, C., Perlik, R.-A., *Cheile Turzii comuna Petreştii de Jos jud. Cluj. Punct: „Peştera Ungurească", „Peştera Balica", „Peştera Binder"*, in: *CCAR. Campania 2015*, Târgu-Jiu, 26-27, 280-284.
LAZAROVICI 2020	Lazarovici, Gh., *Balta Sărată. Din preistoria Caransebeşului*, Ed. Gutenberg Univers, Arad
LAZAROVICI *et al.* 2020	Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh., Stratulat, L., Țurcanu, S., Berzovan, Al., Oancă, M., Kovács, A., C. Oprean, C., Chenghao, W., Guo Zhiwei, Wu Jintao, Hou Xin, Mischka, C., *The Cucuteni A3 site from Dobrovăţ – Pădurea Buda. 2019 Research*, in: *ArhMold*, XLIII, 141-173.
LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI, VLASSA 2020	Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., Vlassa, N., *Cheile Turzii I.*, mss.
LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2021	Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., *Legăturile sudice ale culturii Precucuteni și grupului Ariuşd din Transilvania*, in: *CI*, XL, 11-50.
LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2021a	Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., *Însemne sacre pe accesorii vestimentare neolitice: Spondylus Gaederopus*, in: *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, p. 149-154.
LEAHU 2009	Leahu, D., *Orfevrăria preistorică*, in: *Tezaurul*, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, Ed. Age Art, București, 2-13.
LICHARDUS, FOL 1988	Fol, A., Lichardus, J., *Macht, Herrschaft und Gold. Das Gräberfeld von Varna (Bulgarien) und die Anfänge einer neuen europäischen Zivilisation*, Moderne Galerie des Saarland-Museums, Saarbrücken.
LICHTER 2008	Lichter, C., *Varna und Ikiztepe - Überlegungen zu zwei Fundplätzen am Schwarzen Meer*, in: *The Varna eneolithic necropolis and problems of prehistory in Southeast Europe. Studia in memoriam Ivani Ivanov*, Acta Musei Varnaensis, VI, 191–208.
LUCA 1999	Luca, S. A., *Sfârşitul eneoliticului pe teritoriul intracarpatic al României - Cultura Bodrogkeresztúr*, Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia.
MAKKAY 1976	Makkay, J., *Problems concerning Copper Age Chronology in the Carpathian Basin. Copper Age pendants and Gold Discs in Central and South-East Europe*, in: *Acta Archaeologica* II, Budapest, 251-300.
MAKKAY 1989	Makkay, J., *The Tiszaszölös treasure*, Budapest.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

MANTU 1993 Mantu, C.-M., *Plastica antropomorfă a aşezării Cucuteni A3 de la Scânteia (jud. Iaşi)*, in: *ArhMold*, XVI, 51-67.

MANTU, ȚURCANU 1997 Mantu, C.-M., S. Ţurcanu, S., *Scânteia, cercetare arheologică şi restaurare*, Ed. Helios, Iaşi.

MAREȘ 2012 Mareș, I., *Metalurgia aramei în civilizaţiile Precucuteni şi Cucuteni*, Ed. Karl A. Romstofer, Suceava.

MARINESCU - BÎLCU 1981 Marinescu-Bîlcu, S., *Tîrpeşti. From Prehistory to History in Eastern Romania*, BAR International Series, 107, Oxford.

MECKING 2009-2010 Mecking, O., *Die Goldgehalte der Plättchen aus dem Glockenbechergrab von Zwenkau (ZW-01)*, in: *Arbeits und Forschungsberichte zur sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege*, Band 51-52, 205-207.

MONAH 1978-1979 Monah, D., *Idoli en violon din cultura Cucuteni*, in: *CI*, IX-X, 164-175.

MONAH 2012 Monah, D., *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripolie*, Ed. Constantin Matasă, Piatra Neamţ.

NIKOLOV 2010 Nikolov, V., *Salt and Gold: Provadia- Solnitsata and the Varna chalcolithic cemetery*, in: *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*, 40, 4, 487-501

OANȚĂ-MARGHITU, OANȚĂ-MARGHITU 2014 Oanță-Marghitu, R., Oanță-Marghitu, S., *Tezaurul de la Moigrad, comuna Mirșid, județul Sălaj*, in: Oanță-Marghitu, R. (ed), *Aurul şi argintul antic al României, Catalog de expoziţie*, Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a României, Ed. Conphys, Râmnicu Vâlcea.

OANȚĂ-MARGHITU *et al.* 2014 Oanţă-Marghitu, R. (ed.), *Aurul şi argintul antic al României, Catalog de expoziţie*, Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a României, Ed. Conphys, Râmnicu Vâlcea.

PALAGHIE *et al.* 2021 Palaghie, V., Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh., *Noi piese de aur și os din atelierul de podoabe de la Cheile Turzii*, in: S. Forțiu (ed.), *ArheoVest IX. Interdisciplinaritate în istorie și arheologie. In Honorem Valeriu Sîrbu*, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 553-557.

PATAY 1944-1945 Patay, P., *Rézkori temetö leletei Jászladánybol*, in: *Archeologiai Értesito*, 5-6, ser. III, 1-2.

PATAY 1958 Patay, P., *Rézkori arranyleletek / Kupferzeitliche Goldfunde*, in: *Archeologiai Értesito*, 85, 37-45.

PATAY 1975 Patay, P., *Die hochkupferzeitliche Bodrogkeresztúr-Kultur*, in: *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 55, 1, Frankfurt am Main, 1-71.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

PETRESCU – DÎMBOVIȚA, VĂLEANU 2014 Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, M., Văleanu, M.-C. *Cucuteni-Cetăţuie. Săpăturile din anii 1961- 1966. Monografie arheologică*, Ed. „Constantin Matasă”, Piatra Neamţ.

RACZKY 1999 Raczky, P., *Goldfunde aus der Kupferzeit. Die Anfänge der Metallurgie im Karpatenbecken*, in: Kovács, T., Raczky, P. (eds.), *Prähistorisches Goldschätze aus dem Hungarisches Nationalmuseum, Ausstellung im: Museum für Vor-und Frügeschichte Ärchäologisches Museum, Frankfurt am Main, 16.10-9.1.2000*, Budapest, 17-34.

RUSEV, BOYADZHIEV 2010 Rusev, R., Boyadzhiev, I., *Glava 6. Razvitie na metaloobrabotkata, zapochnala po vre-meto na praistoricheskata „Kultura Varna” v po- kŭsnite epokhi I tsivilizatsii po Bŭlgarskite zemi*, in: Rusev, R., Slavchev, V., Marinov, G., Boyadzhiev, I. (eds.), *Varna– praistoricheski tsentur na metaloobrabotkata*, Ed. Dangrafik, Varna, 151-180.

RUSU 1977 Rusu, M., *Transilvania şi Banatul în secolele VI- IX*, in: *Banatica*, 4, 169-213.

SLAVCHEV 2010 Slavchev, V., *The Varna Eneolithic Cemetery in the Context of the Late Copper Age in the East Balkans*, in: Anthony, D. W. (ed.), *The Lost Worlds of Old Europe. The Danube Valley, 5000-3500 BC*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford, 192-211.

SLAVCHEV 2010a Slavchev, V., *Varnenskiyat khalkoliten nekropol – arkheologicheski Danni I sotsialno-ikonomicheski kontekst*, in: Rusev, R., Slavchev, V., Marinov, G., Boyadzhiev, I. (eds.), *Varna– praistoricheski tsentur na metaloobrabotkata*, Ed. Dangrafik, Varna, 9- 32.

SZENTMIKLOSI, DRAȘOVEAN 2004 Szentmiklosi, Al., Drașovean, Fl., *Arta prelucrării bronzului în Banat*, Ed. Solness, Timișoara.

TODOROVA 1992 Todorova, H., *Zur frage der s. g. “symbolischen bestattungen” des Kupferzeitlichen Gräberfeldes Varna I*, in: Garašanin, M., Srejović, D. (eds.), *Homage á Nikola Tasić á l'occasion des ses soixante ans*, Balcanica, XXIII, Belgrade, 255-280.

TODOROVA 2007 Todorova, H., *Protocivilisation Varna, 4400- 4200 B.C.*, conference held at Muzeul Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, March 2007.

TODOROVA, VAJSOV 2001 Todorova, H., Vajsov, I., *Der Kupferzeitliche Schmuck Bulgariens*, Prähistorische Bronzefunde, H. Müller-Karpe (ed.), Abteilung XX, Band 6, Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

URSACHI 1991 Ursachi, V., *Le depôt d'objets de parure énéolithiques de Brad, com. Negri, dép. de Bacău*, in: Chirica, V., Monah, D. (eds.), *Le Paléolithique et le Néolithique de la Roumanie en contexte européen*, Bibliotheca Archaeologica Iasienssis IV, Iaşi, 335-386.

URSACHI 1992 Ursachi, V., *Depozitul de obiecte de podoabă eneolitice de la Brad, com. Negri, jud. Bacău*, in: *Carpica*, XXIII/1, 51-103.

URSACHI 2012 Ursachi, V., *Tezaurul eneolitic de la Brad*, Ed. Papirus Media, București.

URSULESCU, TENCARIU 2009 Ursulescu, N., Tencariu, F., *Symbolic Sings on the Ceramics of the Chalcolithic Settlement at Isaiia (Iaşi County, Romania)*, in: *Signs and symbols from Danube Neolithic and Eneolithic*, Bibliotheca Brukenthal, XXXV, Sibiu, 87-101.

VÁGÓ 2015 Vágó, A. (ed.), *A Kárpát-medence ősi kincsei. A kőkortól a Honfoglalásig*, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Kosuth Kiadó, Budapest.

VIRAG 2014 Virag, C., *Tezaure eneolitice. Urziceni*, in: Gindele, R., Marta, L., Virag, C. (eds), *Tezaure arheologice din județul Satu Mare*, Ed. Muzeului Sătmărean, Satu Mare, 3-8.

VIZDAL 1977 Vizdal, J., *Tiszapolgáske pohrebisko v Velikyh Raskovciach*, Košice.

VLÁDAR 1979 Vládar, J., *Prakeká plastika*, Ed. Tartan, Bratislava.

WEISHAAR 1989 Weishaar, J., Die Deutschen Ausgrabungen auf der *Pevkakia-Magula* in Thessalien, I. Bonn

WULLSCHLEGER 2008 Wullschleger, M. (ed), *L'art néolithique en Roumanie*, Ed. Arte'm, Napoli.

ZAHLHAAS, ZABERN 1985 Zahlhaas, G., Zabern, Ph. (eds.), *Idole. Frühe Götterbilder und Opfergaben*, Prähistorische Staatssammlung München, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein.

ZIMMERMANN 2007 Zimmermann, Th., *Anatolia and the Balkans, once again - ring shape idols from western Asia and a critical reassessment of some 'Early Bronze Age' items from Ikiztepe, Turkey*, in: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0092.2007.00271.x

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

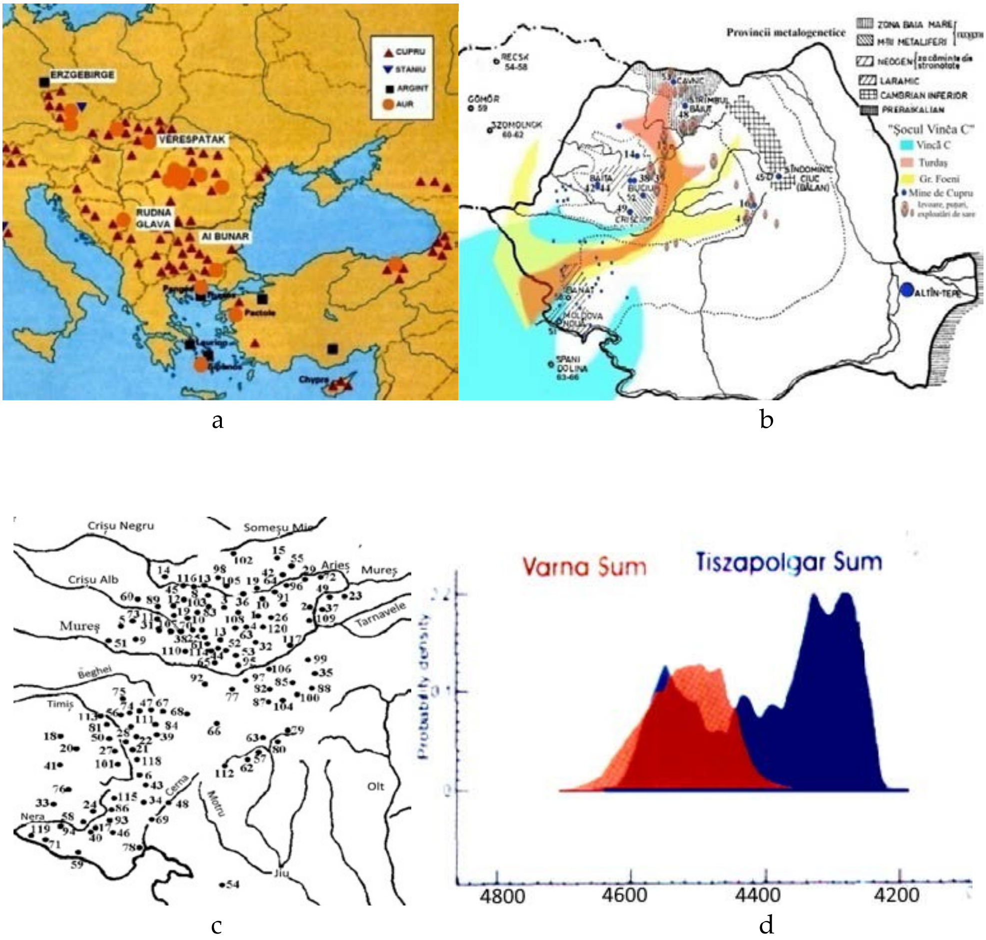


Fig. 1. a. Sources of copper, tin, silver, and gold; **b**. Southwestern migrations that determined the genesis of the Copper Age (Vinča C "shock"); **c**. list of gold deposits and panning sites in Transylvania and Banat, (RUSU 1977: 191, Fig. 3.1); **d**. comparative chronology for Varna and Tiszapolgár culture (DIACONESCU 2014: Fig. 9).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

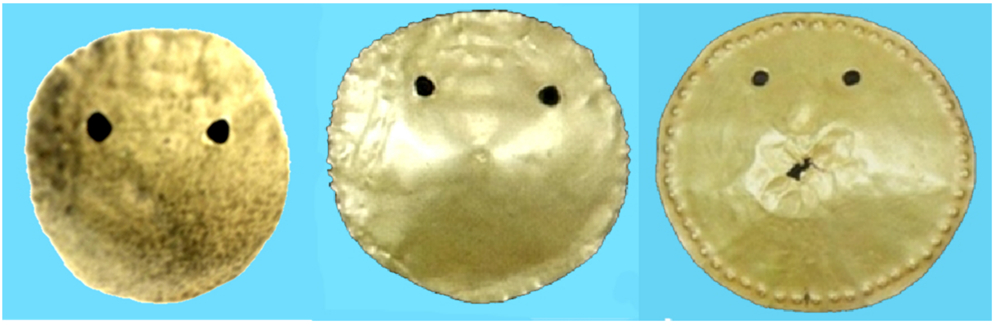
a b c d

Fig. 2. a-b., Idols from Greece, unknown place (WEB Museum from Athens; HANSEN 2007: Pl. 244.7); **c**., Moigrad, trident, processing after OANȚĂ-MARGHITU 2014); **d**. Varna (GEORGIEV 1988: Abb. 16, 23).

a b c d e

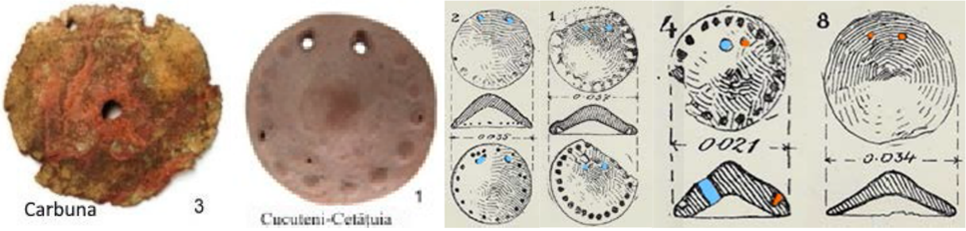
Fig. 3. Gold disks: **a.** Varna (TODOROVA 2007); **b.** Pietrele, Gumelnița culture (HANSEN 2007: 345, Abb. 16); **c-d.** Zwenkau-Leipzig, Glockenbecher tomb; **e.** Brad, Cucuteni culture.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro



a b1 b2

c d e e1



f g h i j k

Fig. 4. a-b. Type A1, Brad, apud URSACHI 1991; **b1-b2.** gold, Brad and imitations in fired clay; **c**. Târpești, apud MARINESCU-BÎLCU 1981; **g.** Cucuteni-*Cetățuia*, apud PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA, VĂLEANU 2004: Fig 224.18; **d, h-j, k.** Hăbășești, apud DUMITRESCU *et al*. 1954: 461, Fig. 45.1-2, 4, 8; copper: **e, f.** Cărbuna; **e1.** Ikiztepe, lead, apud ZIMMERMANN 2007: Fig. 3.3.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

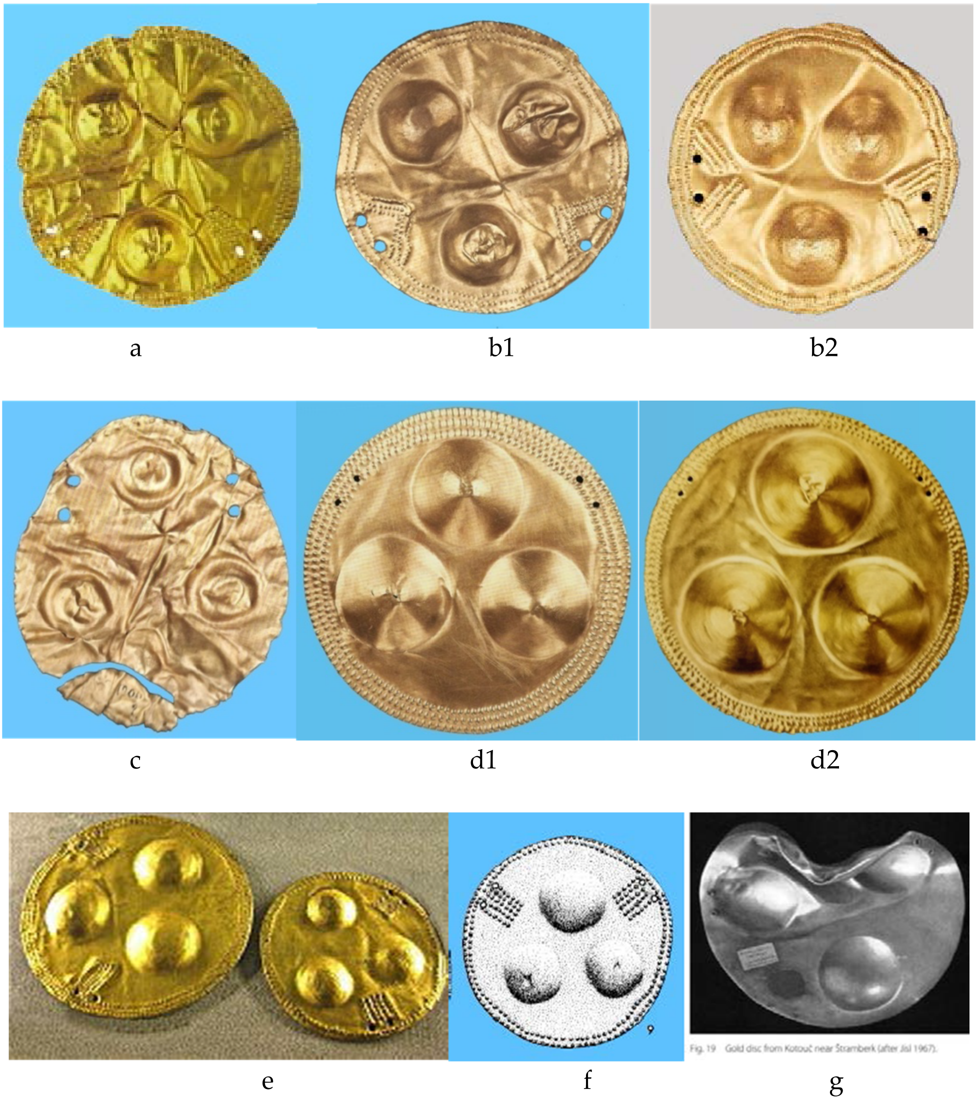


Fig. 5. Type A2: a. Unknown, apud RACZKY 1999: Kat. 1; **b1-b2**. unknown, Csáford type, apud RACZKY 1999: Kat. 2; 2015: Pl. II.221; **c.** Unknown, apud RACZKY 1999: Kat. 7; **d1-d2.** Tenja, Croatia (Orlovinja/Tenye - Orlovinyák-puszta, Croatia: see RACZKY 1999: Abb. 11, Kat. 4); **e.** Stollhof (ANGELI 1967); **f.** Stollhof, passim; **g.** Kotouč, near Štramberk, apud HANSEN 2013: Fig. 19.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

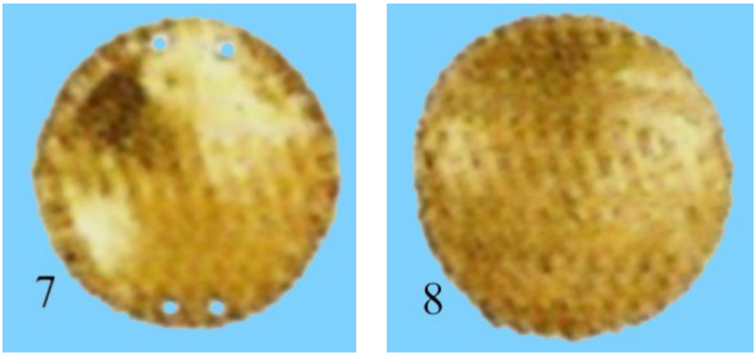


Fig. 6. Type A3: 7-8. Varna, from various features.

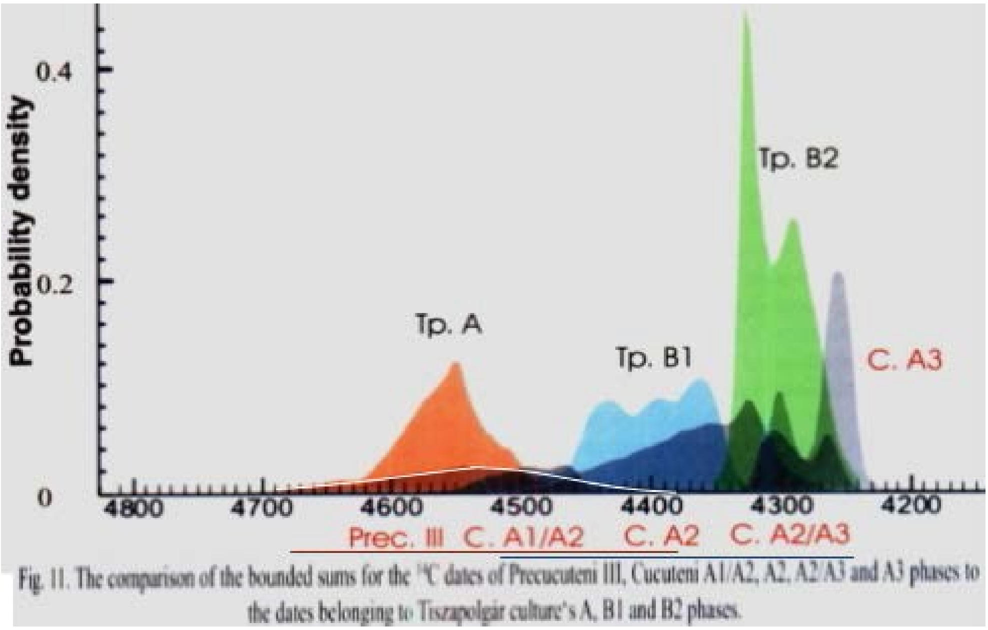


Fig. 7. C14 data for cultures of the Copper Age
(processing apud DIACONESCU 2014).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

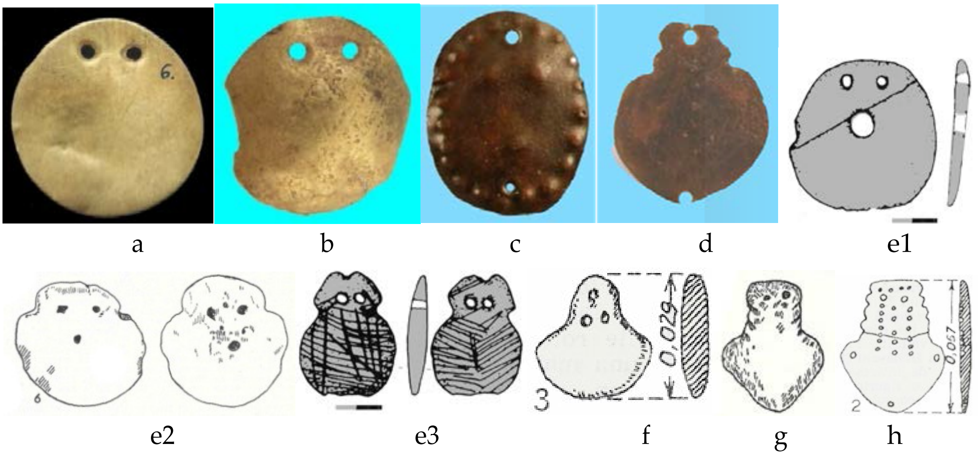


Fig. 8. Type A4: a. Hencida +5 specimens; **b.** Sultana; **c-d.** Cărbuna; **e.** Oradea-Salca, apud MONAH 1977-1978, apud IGNAT SAVA 1976; **e1, e3.** apud LUCA 1999: 128, Fig. 34.2-3; **f-g.** Făcuți, apud MONAH 1977-1978; **h.** Hăbășești, apud DUMITRESCU *et al*. 1954: Fig. 36.2.

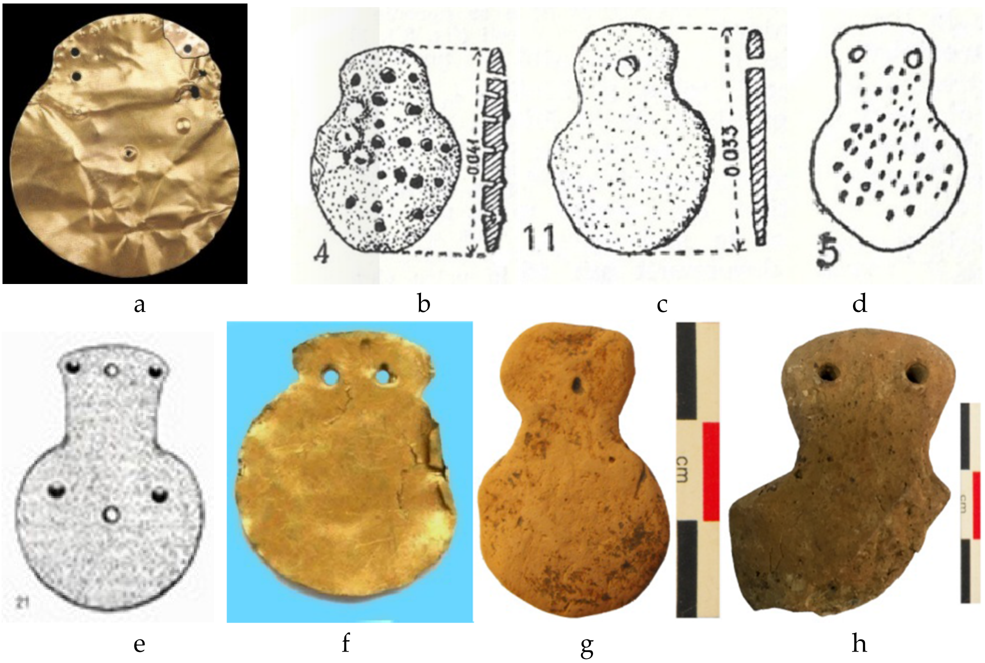
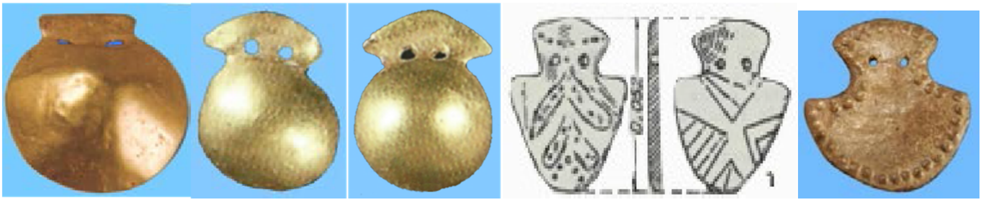


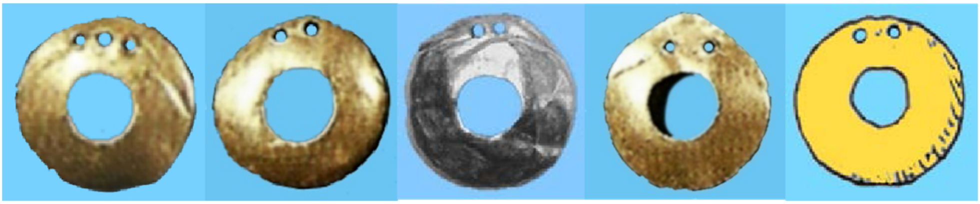
Fig. 9. Type B: a. Hatvan-Újtelep, VÁGÓ 2015: Fig. II.214; **b-c.** Drăgușeni, apud MONAH 1978-1979: Fig. 2.4, 11; **d.** Cucuteni-*Cetățuia*, apud MONAH 1978-1979: Fig. 2.5; **e.** Elithya, Greece-Unknown, apud Spiros Marinatos, passim; **f.** Vitănești-Măgurice, apud ANDREESCU *et al*. 2009; **g, h.** Scânteia, unpublished (g, Trench III/2001; h, Gr. 35).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro



a b c d e

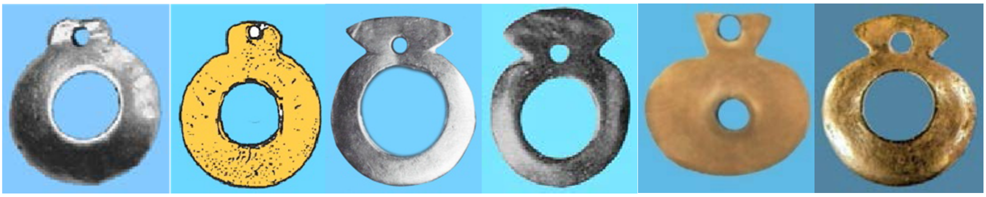
Fig. 10. Subvariant C1: a. Vărăști, apud OANȚĂ-MARGHITU 2014: 52, G100; **b-c.** Varna; **d.** Hăbășești, apud MONAH 1978-1979: Fig. 1; **e.** Trușești (photo Gh. Lazarovici).



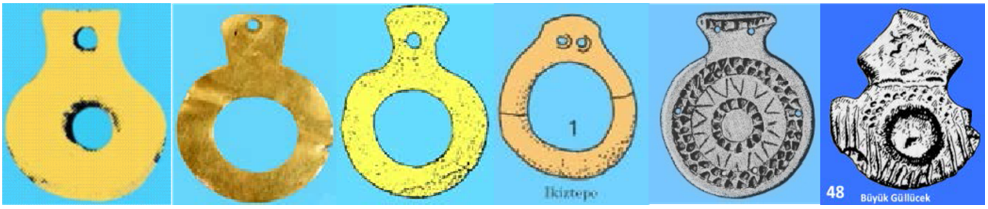
a b c d e

Fig. 11. Subvariant C2: a-d. Hotnica (apud DUMITRESCU 1961: Fig. 6.3-4, 5; MONAH 1978-1979: Fig. 4.7; FOL, LICHARDUS 1988:121, Abb. 4-8); **c.** apud BOYADZIEV, TERZIJSKA-IGNATOVA 2011: cover 1, 4; **e.** Vidra, apud DUMITRESCU 1961: Fig. 6.2.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro



a b c d e1 e2



f g h i j k

Fig. 12. Subvariant C3: a. Hotnica, apud BOYADZIEV, TERZIJSKA-IGNATOVA 2011: cover 1, 4; b. Greece, Unknown (HANSEN 2007, Abb. 244.8); **c.** Varna (FOL, LICHARDUS 1988: 204, G48, Kat. 128-129, Abb.15.1-2, detail Troyan idols G48, 2 items); d. Gumelnița, (DUMITRESCU 1961: 79, Fig. 7); **e1-e2.** Durankulak TODOROVA 2007; Abb. 6; **f.** lepotrypa, apud http://www.ime.gr/chronos/01/en/nl/economy/metalfr.html; **g.** Ptolemaida, apud https://journalofantiques.com/misc/kens-korner-hiker-finds-returns-prehistoric-pendant/; **h.** Salamis (HANSEN 2007, Abb. 255.5); **i.** Ikiztepe (DUMITRESCU 1961); **j.** Drama (FOL, LICHARUDS 1988: 260, Abb. 208, Flach Idol); **k.** Büyük Güllücek (DUMITRESCU 1961:Fig. 6; MONAH 1978-1979: Fig. 4.1).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Fig. 13. Variant D: a. Varna, G2, Mask (FOL, LICHARDUS 1988: 56, Abb. 26); **b.** Hotnica (DUMITRESCU 1961: Fig. 6.5; FOL, LICHARDUS 1988: 121, Abb. 4.7; TODOROVA 1992: Fig. 269, Abb. 5-6); **c.** Sultana, + 3 items: Oltenița hoard; **d.** Hotnica (apud BOYADZIEV, TERZIJSKA-IGNATOVA 2011: cover 1 and 4); **e.** Pietrele (HANSEN *et al*. 2010: Fig. 25); **f.** Varna (FOL, LICHARDUS 1988: 62, M 97, Abb. 51; SLAVCHEV 2010: 256, cat. 171.2-6, 9); **g.** Moigrad, apud Vlassa treasure classification sheet 13.02.1970; **h.** Tiszaszőlős; **i.** Progar (WEB); **j.** Târgu Mureș (photo Odenie, MNIT); **k.** Greece, National Museum of Archaeology Athens (after Th. Zimmermann); **l.** Vidra (DUMITRESCU 1961: Fig. 6.1); **m.** Greece-unknown (HANSEN 2007: Abb. 255.5); **n.** Trabzon (MAKKAY 1989: 42, Fig. 2.9); **o.** Sardis (MAKKAY 1989: 42, Fig. 2.6); **p.** Poliochni (MAKKAY 1989: 42, Fig. 2.5); **q, r.** Greece-unknown (HANSEN 2007: Taf. 244.5-6); **s.** Pevkakya Magula (WEISHAAR 1989: 387, Abb. 2.6); **t.** Sesklo, (DUMITRESCU 1961: Fig. 6.7).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

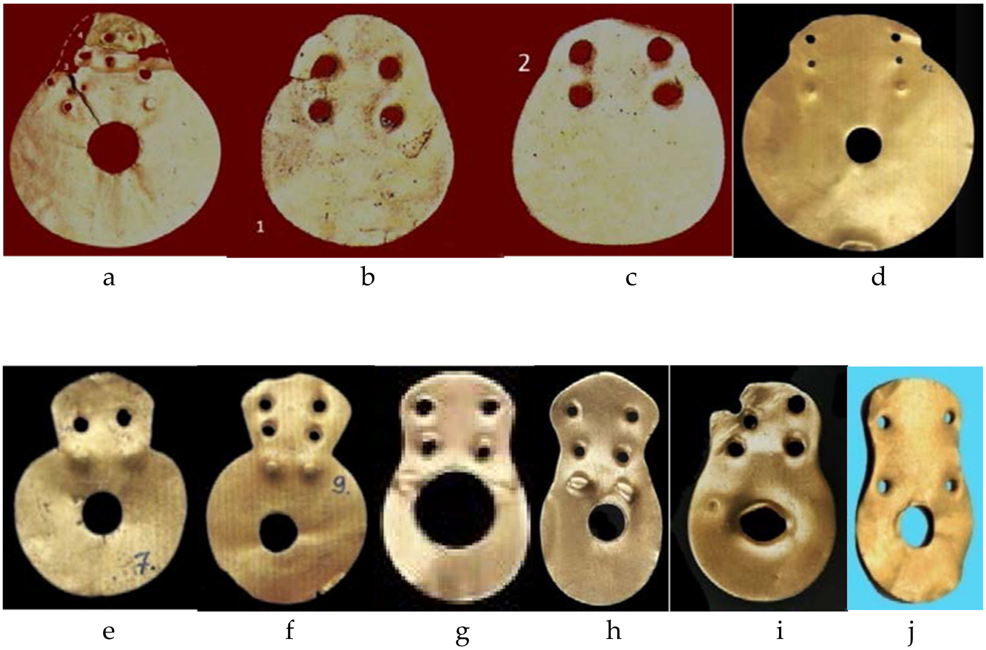


Fig. 14. Subvariant D1: a-c. Vel'ké Raskovce (VLÁDAR 1979: 61, Fig. 34); **d-f.** Hencida (VÁGÓ 2015: 91, Pl. II.217.7,9); **g-i.** Tiszavalk-Tetes (six items, CSÁNYI *et al*. 2010; VÁGÓ 2015: 88, Pl. II.215.1-2, etc.); **h-i.** Magyarhomorog, five items (VÁGÓ 2015: 88, Pl. II.208.25.1-5); **j.** Andrid (HÁGÓ 2020).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

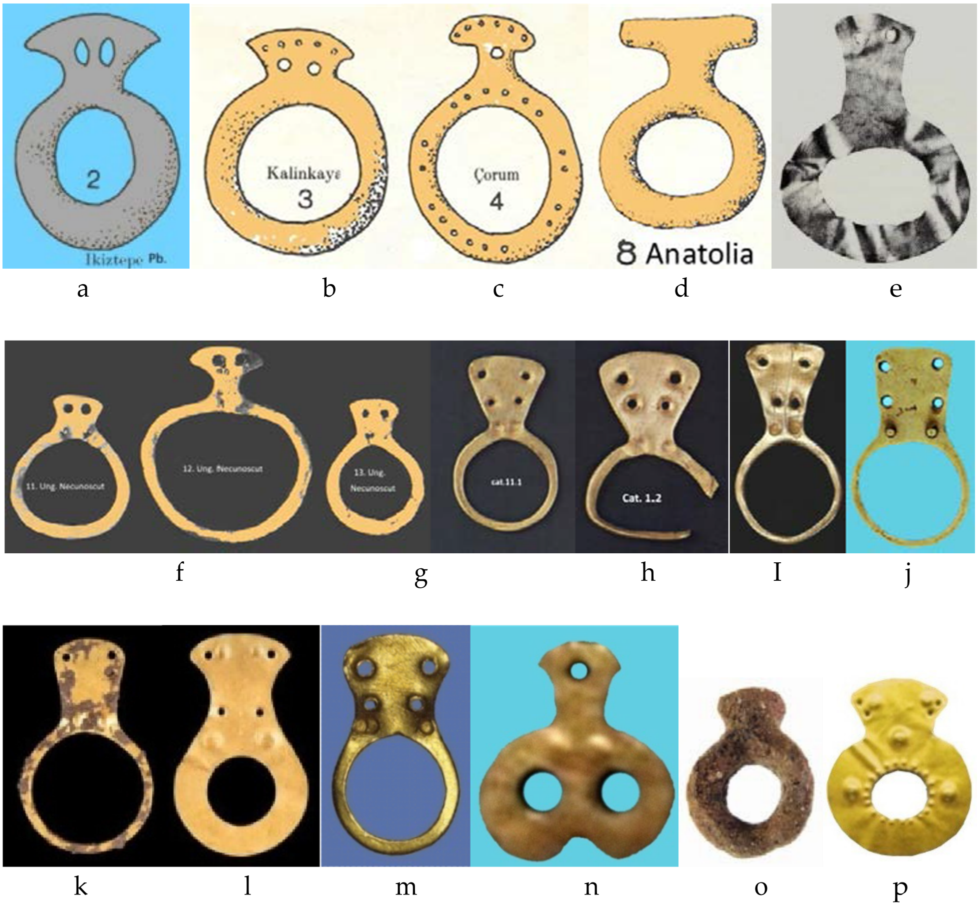


Fig. 15. Type E: a. Ikiztepe (MAKKAY 1989: 42, Fig. 2.2; LICHTER 2008: 195, Abb. 5, G192); **b.** Kalinkaya (MAKKAY 1989: 42, Fig. 2.3); **c.** Çorum-Merzifon, Anatolia (MAKKAY 1989: 42, Fig. 2.4); **d.** Alaca Höyök (MAKKAY 1989: 42, Fig. 2.8); **e.** Aravissos (MAKKAY 1979); **f.** Hungary-unknown (PATAY 1958: Taf. 16, 10-15); **g-h.** Oradea (RACZKY 1999: Abb. 7); **i.** Jászladány, 2 specimens (RACZKY 1999: Abb. 14.2-3); **j.** Pusztaistvánháza (DUMITRESCU 1961: 77, Fig. 5.9; RACZKY 1999: Kat. 13, apud PATAY 1958; VÁGÓ 2015: 89, Pl. II.215); **k-l.** Bükkábrány: http://www.thehistoryblog.com/archives/60964; **m.** Urziceni G63 (VIRAG 2014: 7); **n.** Greece, National Museum of Archaeology, Athens (HANSEN 2007: Taf. 255.9); **o.** Porț, Zau culture (WULLSCHLEGER 2008: Suplacu de Barcău group, cat. 85); **p.** Copper Age, Spain, apud ROBB, HARRIS 2017: Fig. 5e.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

a

b

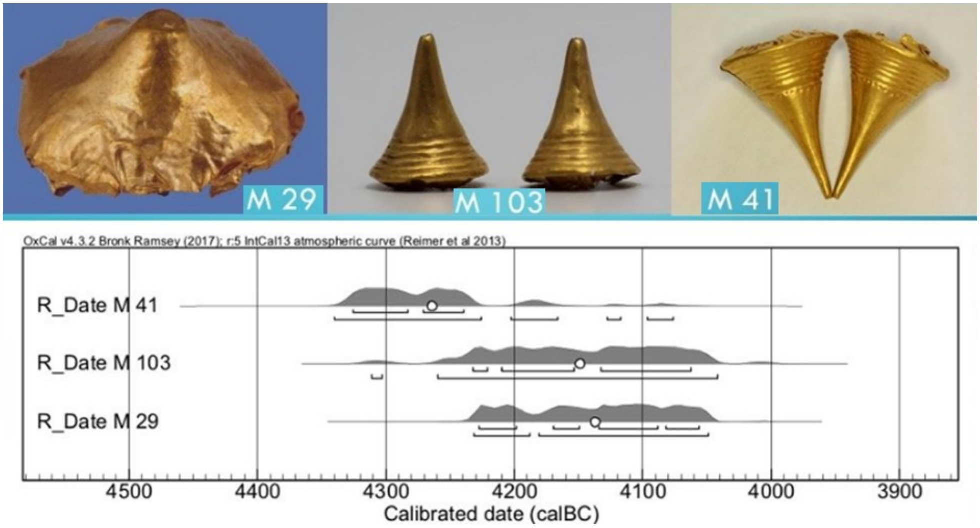
Fig. 16: a. Gold and copper pendants and copies thereof of lead, silver or burnt clay; **b.** Sources of copper, gold, silver related to gold metallurgy.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Fig. 17. Map of the great gold artifacts.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

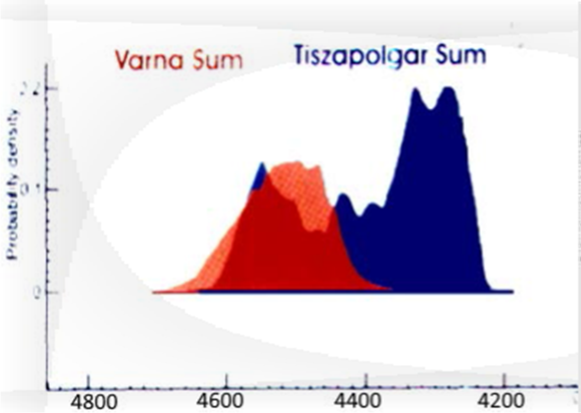
a.



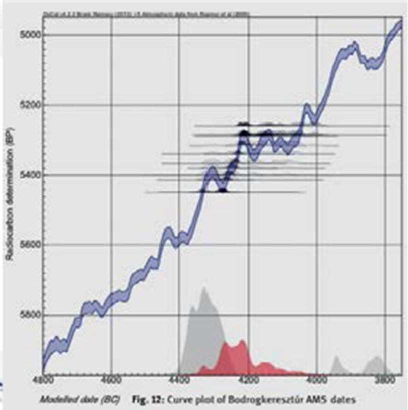
b.

Fig. 18: a. Different cultural groups for pendants of types A, C, D; **b.** C14 data for the Bodrogkeresztúr graves (M) from Urziceni and the gold artifacts in them (VIRAG 2021 manuscript, kind information).

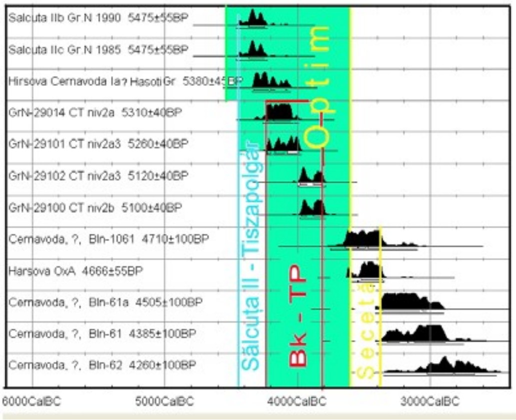
https://biblioteca-digitala.ro



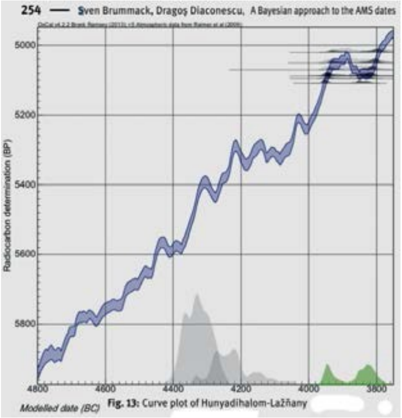
a



b



c



d

Fig. 19. Tables presenting the absolute chronology of the periods of the gold pendants: a. apud DIACONESCU 2014: Fig. 9. Varna and Tiszapolgár; **b.** Bodrogkeresztúr, apud BRUMMACK, DIACONESCU 2017: Fig. 12; **c.** radiocarbon data from Cheile Turzii (CT) from BK-TP levels, corroborated with other contemporary cultures, apud LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI, VLASSA, 2020; **d.** Late Knobbed Handles, apud BRUMMACK, DIACONESCU 2017: Fig. 9.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

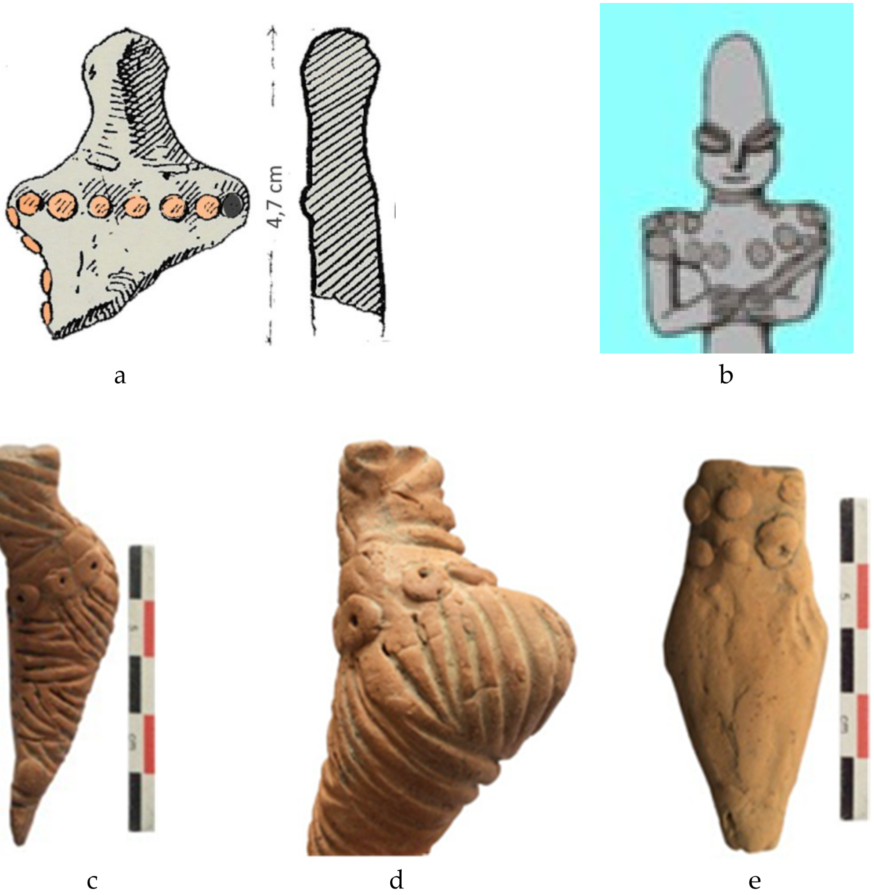


Fig. 20. Idols decorated with pendants on the chest, shoulder, or under the arm: a, c-d. Cucuteni culture; **a.** Hăbășești, apud DUMITRESCU *et al*. 1954: 405, Fig, 32.1; **b.** Sha'ar Hagolan apud GARFINKEL 2004; LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2021a: Fig. 2b; **c-d.** Scânteia: **c.** L1, apud MANTU, ȚURCANU 1997: Cat.326; **d.** L2, apud MANTU 1993: Fig. 8/6.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Thinking beyond the artefacts: A few hypotheses in reconstructing the rituals in temples and sanctuaries from Neolithic and Copper Age

ADELA KOVÁCS[*]

Abstract: The present work has the purpose to open some possibilities of interpretation of several artefacts, which, viewed as a whole, can bring new directions of vision in order to reconstruct some cultic or religious activities in the Neolithic period. We started our study from the premise that religious life is developed in a special place, and in this way temples and sanctuaries appear. It is possible that people who approached the sacred space must accomplish certain conditions, such as initiation. Profane activities are prohibited inside the place of worship. All the arrangements made within the cult buildings have the role of props for certain rituals and cults held inside. We distinguish a series of universal rituals, present in all prehistoric societies. We note the fumigatio, mactatio and libatio (more precisely the burnt offering, the blood offering and the liquid offering), each with a specific inventory: libation vessels, for keeping some liquids, seeds or products; idols or altars with cultic signs and symbols that have the role of transmitting a message or with an apotropaic role. Grinding, keeping grains and ground flour, preparation of ritual food are elements documented in certain temples. This apparently profane activity is widely present in religious buildings, in temples, but also in models of houses / sanctuaries in the Cucuteni area. On the same line of ritual preparation, the activity of weaving, the making of clothes (perhaps for the administrator of the cult) or of the various fabrics needed in the cultic cleaning is included. Until now, based on the elements that are repeated in many contexts, situations, features and cultures, hypotheses have been elaborated regarding a series of cults present in the Neolithic and the Copper Age. A cult with a wide spread is that of fertility and fecundity, linked to cult manifestations in many aspects, demonstrated by the presence of idols and figurines, ritual activities, specific architectural elements. All these aspects were sometimes included under the

[*] Botoșani County Museum: adelakovacs.museum@gmail.com.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

global term of agrarian cults. Another particularly important cult is that of the female divinity, in all its aspects, encompassing a series of terms such as "great goddess" or "mother goddess". This female character, omnipresent in the central, south-eastern and southern European areas, is sometimes represented on a monumental scale, forming cultic altars. Correlating the low light or the light directed on the monumental statues, it is possible to induce the feeling of mystery, of impressing the person, the worshiper, the believer or the "priest" entering the interior of the temple building. It is possible that this was the purpose of making altars and statues of impressive dimensions. Another omnipresent character in the cultures analysed by us is the bull. Its representations covered a wide range, from wall paintings, reliefs with clay skulls and bucrania, parts from skeletons or skulls of bulls deposited as offerings or as leftovers from public feasts, zoomorphic idols. As a symbol, the bull represents the God of Storms, through his roar like thunder, the god who brings rain and ensures the growth of plants. The art from the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods has a religious purpose, being intended to ensure abundant harvests by directly observing the cycles of nature, the seasons. The analysis of the religion of a community could help to understand the way in which the majority of individuals in a certain society worship their gods and especially the way of thinking and conception of cultic spaces.

Keywords: *sanctuaries, temples, Neolithic, Copper Age, Europe, interpretations, religious life.*

Religion represents an important element, regardless of the society to which we relate, as a complex form of human consciousness[1]. Its beginnings are extremely subtle and for this reason are very difficult to detect, sometimes leaving traces so faint that they cannot be perceived directly[2]. The display of deep emotions that awaken religious feelings is complicated to describe, especially in the absence of written sources[3]. In previous periods, archaeological literature focused on means of livelihood and production, and the role of religion was undermined to the point of non-existence within the historiography on the subject, an aspect valid in all former communist states[4].

1 DEXTER 1990: 4.
2 BOGHIAN 2003: 18.
3 BERGGREN, HARROD 1996: 72.
4 BURDO 2005: 260.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

One of our hypotheses for this study refers to the fact that there is a characteristic, special arrangement of places for worship at a clearly defined moment. The arrangement and standardizing of a sanctuary or temple includes not only special buildings dedicated to, but also structures associated with cultic activities. Of course, the endowments reflect the available materials and the technical capacity of the community, associated with the construction habits. The ornamentation of a sacred place is directly related to the well-being and the level of ostentation of the community, being determined by the image that a community has about its gods[5], therefore we included the forms of decorative art in the analysis of places for worship. Although certain studies challenge the line of interpretation of the religious behaviour of Neolithic people, promoted by M. Eliade and M. Gimbutas, their papers represent one of the many ways to make the immaterial sphere of Neolithic society intelligible.

The arrangement of the space, the arrangement of the dwellings and annexes, the calendar of daily activities must have had a central place in the organization of Neolithic life, all in connection with a way of conceiving the settlement as a microcosm of the life unfolding[6]. The monumental constructions and their interior structure show similarities between distant geographical areas. Mostly, the temples are located in the central area of the settlements. The common elements with the Danube area or the Balkan-Anatolian area show a common origin of these communities and the transmission of several aspects related to religion or beliefs[7].

The reconstruction of the religious phenomenon must corroborate three different sources of information: tangible-archaeological data, the religious aspects, with the two components – physical and metaphysical – required for the performing of religious events (rituals, funerals, initiations, sacrifices, incantations) and the extensions in historic times of prehistoric behaviours[8]. The archaeological discoveries, although opaque in terms of religious life, and the interpretations fragile when the image of the gods,

[5] FERGUSON 1983: 185.
[6] BOGHIAN 2004: 62.
[7] LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2009: 56.
[8] BOGHIAN 2003: 19.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

death, life, abstract concepts are discussed, allow us to glimpse some elements of the existence of a mythology with multiple ways of manifestation. These include the special arrangement of the building, specific to ritual practices, as well as the necessary props. The study of religion or magic in any civilization requires the research and clarification of primary laws and rules regarding rituals[9]. The elements discovered during excavation, reflect the interior arrangement of the spaces at the time of their destruction or decommissioning, and not the way they were arranged during the period of maximum operation, an aspect that makes it difficult for us to reconstruct some elements from the possible scenario of the rituals.

The purpose of our approach is to reconstruct religious life, or at least some sequences from it, based on archaeological traces. Through several studies, we have described a series of cultic situations and settings, from dedicated spaces, such as temples or sanctuaries. In previous studies we covered several fixed elements, with reference to the associated inventory items[10]. However, the question still remains regarding the activities that took place inside the buildings. The purpose of the present paper is essentially to outline some possible rituals that took place in these spaces. Following the analysis of the discoveries regarding the religious buildings in South-Eastern Europe and the fixed elements inside them, several conclusions can be drawn.

We will discuss in the following possible rituals carried out inside or next to temples and sanctuaries. Of course, these are difficult to reconstruct, not knowing to what extent the rituals were public or with restricted access[11].

Regarding the notion of ritual, we mention that it is defined as "ceremonial, carried out according to traditional rules, on the occasion of birth, marriage, death, on the occasion of sowing or harvesting, etc."[12]. We note some elements specific to the notion of ritual: the ceremonial represents the event itself; traditional rules refer to the fact that the ritual is regulated

---

9 BURDO 2005: 260.

10 KOVÁCS 2014: 195-240; KOVÁCS 2014a: 196-227; KOVÁCS 2010: 75-88; KOVÁCS 2015: 201-230.

11 KUIJT 2008: 183.

12 NODEX 2002.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

by certain pre-established customs; the occasion refers to the event for which it takes place, being directly related to time.

From the point of view of the content, D. Boghian classifies the rituals in several categories, distinguishing rituals of passage, social rituals, rituals related to the calendar and agricultural rituals[13]. We add to these the foundation and abandonment rituals defined by Gh. Lazarovici. Foundation rituals are those that take place before the construction of a building or interior equipment, and for their clarification, several details are important, such as the location of the items in space. The objects deposited in the foundation of a building are generally associated with rituals of this kind[14]. The abandonment ritual is distinguished by the fact that there are a number of objects that are deposited either in the process of destruction and abandonment of the building, or shortly after the event[15]. As a manifestation of the abandonment ritual, we include the burial of certain buildings (such as the sanctuaries from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period), or the decommissioning of some interior elements.

In order for a specific place, regardless of which, to become the house of the divinity, it must be dedicated as early as the construction phase. Thus, we notice rituals for the foundation of sanctuaries and temples. The foundation rituals have the purpose of providing protection to the space, of invoking the divinity. Rituals can also have complex purposes, such as sending messages to the gods, or establishing statements for help, growth, fertility and fecundity[16]. Prior to the sanctuary or temple, the settlement is founded. The settlement foundation rituals are related to the emergence of the community. The place for founding the settlement must be clean, purified[17]. There are examples from Fetești-La Schit, where, under a series of buildings, traces of arson and ashes were noticed, interpreted as part of a ritual of purification by fire, along with purification by water, sacrifices, votive deposits and other rituals, carried out with the aim of protection and

---

13 BOGHIAN 2004: 139.
14 LAZAROVICI 2009a: 240.
15 LAZAROVICI 2009a: 240.
16 LAZAROVICI 2009a: 239.
17 GIOSANU 2009: 161.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

prosperity of the community. The foundation of the settlement, marked by the deposition of aurochs horns in the pit, is mentioned at Zorlențu Mare[18], at Bucșani-Pod, Giurgiu County[19] and at Vorniceni-Pod Ibăneasa[20]. The situation at Vorniceni is also interesting due to the fact that in Pit 25, located in the centre of the settlement, were found not only two bovids' bucrania, one with horns and the other with the horns cut from the base, a sheep skull, pig bones, but also ceramic fragments, from which large and medium vessels could be reconstructed, fragments from a rectangular vessel, 17 anthropomorphic statuettes, Cucuteni C type ceramics, flint tools, many ceramic fragments from support vessels, bowls, lids, crater vessel, fragments of an ornamented bowl, an axe, adobe, coal and ash[21]. Pit 4 from Zau is a very special one, containing the remains of a foundation feast of the settlement. Five or possible six cattle skeletons and a deer skeleton were deposited here. Some bones were burned and deposited with a lot of ashes, as a result of the banquet[22]. The settlement from Gura Baciului or the one from Cristian I had the centre marked by columns. At Gura Baciului there is only one column[23], whereas at Cristian I there are three columns, one of which had an aurochs skull attached[24].

Regarding the foundation rituals for buildings, we mention two cases from Çatal Höyük. Building 3 has a complicated and long history, with a series of functions, sometimes changed due to changes in dimensions and equipment. Two obsidian points were deposited next to the bench, as a ritual foundation for it. Elements integrated into the floor of the building were also discovered in Building 10. Under platform F.1302 there were artefacts embedded in clay, such as an owl bone point and an obsidian blade. These were ritually deposited, prior to the construction of the platform. Other artefacts were discovered in the southeast corner of Building 10, under platform F.1314[25]. Under this were grouped bones and various items. The

---

18 LAZAROVICI 2009a: 241.
19 BEM, BĂLĂȘESCU 2005: 326.
20 DIACONESCU 2012: 15.
21 DIACONESCU 2012: 15.
22 LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2006: 442, Fig. IIIe.37.
23 LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2006: 111-115.
24 LUCA 2015: 23.
25 JÓNSSON 2003: 56.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

bone deposits consisted of astragalus bones from sheep or goats and an almost complete wolf paw. The artefacts include ceramic fragments, a quartz fragment and a processed stone object. It could not be specified whether these items were deposited during the construction of the platform or later, but their association and the fact that they were "hidden" under the platform, determines their interpretation as ritual deposition[26].

An unusual situation is mentioned as a foundation offering at Balta Sărată, in Dwelling 28. It had inside a column at the base of which stones and a cup stem was placed[27]. Ox antlers were deposited in the foundation pit of Pit-house 1 from Padea, interpreted as a possible household sanctuary. Temple 1 from Parța (**Fig. 1**) had as a foundation offering ceramic fragments, a fragmentary weight, a broken axe, bone fragments and a large antler fragment[28]. There is also mentioned an anthropomorphous vessel placed at the entrance (**Fig. 2, 3**). Temple 2 had a foundation pit under one of the pillars guarding the western entrance (**Fig. 4**). We note the following objects: a statuette in the shape of a quadruped, possibly a dog, and a zoomorphic vessel representing a hedgehog, all with apotropaic functions[29]. At Gălățui, a human skull was deposited under the floor of the sanctuary, together with fragments from an altar table[30]. Building L3 from Solonceni I had as a foundation offering two miniature pyriform vessels, placed with the mouth downwards and a feminine statuette decorated with incisions filled with white[31]. The foundation offerings of Dwelling L2/1994-1995 from Turdaș are notable for the seven grinders deposited with the active surface down, a flint boulder and the stone head with carvings[32].

In the case of sanctuary III/11 from Cucuteni-Cetățuia, several ceramic fragments, animal bones, wall remains and several stones are mentioned[33]. Numerous foundation rituals appear within the Cucuteni culture, especially

---

26 JÓNSSON 2003: 57.
27 LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2006: 171-173.
28 LAZAROVICI *et al.* 2001: 228, I.2, Pl. 41/2.
29 LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2006: 330.
30 NEAGU 2000: 29-30.
31 BODEAN 2001: 108.
32 LUCA 1996: 121-126.
33 PETRESCU-DÂMBOVIȚA, VĂLEANU 2004: 85-86.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

regarding houses. These have already been listed in several studies and articles[34]. D. Boghian notes the fact that the foundation rituals were performed during the construction of most Cucuteni dwellings, regardless of their form, simple or complex, but not all situations were observed archaeologically. The purpose of the foundation rituals is to ensure the longevity of the dwelling, the fecundity and well-being of the tenants[35]. A number of objects were deposited at the foundation of the sanctuary at Vésztő-Mágor[36].

The foundation of the cult building is followed by its construction, furnishing and decoration. The orientation of the sanctuary is a particularly important aspect, with possible consequences in terms of divine favour[37]. An example of this kind is the temple excavated at Nebelivka, where the opening was towards the east[38]. The transition space is that of change, of crossing from the ordinary world to the house of the gods[39]. From an ethno-archaeological perspective, the threshold and the door are transition zones, from the profane area to the sacred area of the settlement[40].

The second stage includes the consecration of the cult building. In what way or by what means was the consecration carried out is very difficult to specify, in the absence of written sources. Of course, unanswered questions remain, such as those regarding the time of consecration, the attendance of certain categories of people in the event, or whether the worship space is accessible to everyone or only to a certain elite within the community. What we manage to glimpse, however, are some of the activities that take place inside or in the immediate vicinity of cult buildings.

An essential component of rituals is time. We are talking about a sacred time, which translates into celebration. Possible celebrations are: the change of seasons, the solstices or equinoxes, the celebration of the harvest, the new year, the richness and fertility of the fields; rites of passage: birth,

---

34 BOGHIAN 2004: 63-67; LAZAROVICI 2009: 223-238; PREOTEASA 2013: 91-114.
35 BOGHIAN 2004: 66.
36 MAKKAY 2005: 224-239.
37 HAYDEN 2003: 85.
38 VIDEIKO 2015.
39 KOVÁCS 2020: 69-88.
40 BLAKE, KNAPP 2005: 126.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

initiation, marriage, death. Other occasions for carrying out rituals include the creation of alliances with other communities or swarming by the departure of a part of the community, to found a new settlement. The purpose of the rituals is the periodic connection with the higher forces, often being accompanied by a feast[41]. Even certain moments of the day give different sensations, and the summer evening is considered by N. Ursulescu to be the most suitable for meditation, contemplation and dreaming[42]. It is possible that the evening is also the most favourable moment for performing the rituals.

Rituals assume not only repetitiveness, but also several steps: preparation, development and conclusion or a finish.

The preceding stage itself involves several aspects: the preparation for the public ritual, and the personal preparation of the cult administrator. We use the generic name of cult administrator, as the idea of a priest/priestess or another type of name for the same function, that of community religious leader, has not yet been unanimously accepted. The organization of the dedicated worship spaces presupposes a person with spiritual authority over the other members of the community, so that the scenario of the rituals can be fulfilled[43]. Considering the multitude of feminine representations in the position of praying and invoking, we consider much more plausible the idea that the rituals were officiated by one or more women[44]. This is not just a speculation, considering the fact that there is already the discovery of a truly special tomb of a woman, of the so-called Milady from Tărtăria, a possible priestess in her time[45].

The preparation of the person officiating consists of a physical and a spiritual component. Physical preparation involves purification and dedicated clothing. In several household sanctuaries and places of worship, sometimes even in temples, loom weights have been found. Such tools are

---

41 DURKHEIM 1995: 68.
42 URSULESCU 2012: 35-37.
43 URSULESCU, TENCARIU 2006: 73.
44 CHIRICA *et. al*. 2010: 159-204.
45 LAZAROVICI 2009b: 41-57; LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI, MERLINI 2011.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

mentioned at Aşaği Pinar[46], Crkvine[47], Dwelling 4/1975[48]and Building 6/1980[49] from Gomolava (**Fig. 5**), Rakitovo[50]. Inside Dwelling 126 from Parța, the weaving loom is located on the eastern wall, associated with the column with the bucranium[51]. In Temple 2 it was positioned in Small Trench C, in the northeast corner[52]. Other sanctuaries where weaving looms were noted are at: Hârșova[53] and Poduri-Dwelling 2 in Trench C[54]. We associate the presence of these weaving looms with the production of clothing items meant to be worn during the rituals.

Adornment must have played an important role in the preparing of the body. The ornaments, consisting of necklaces, pendants, amulets, bracelets, various other ornamental items, are some of the most beautiful and fine archaeological artefacts. They are of several types and of the most diverse materials, including precious materials. We notice a certain state of opulence at the end of the Copper Age, through the appearance of metal pendants. We mention the gold pendants discovered in the treasures of Cărbuna, Târpești[55] and Brad[56]. A relatively recent discovery is the spiral-shaped gold decoration for the hair from Nebelivka[57]. Some of the precious material artefacts were imitated in clay, a much more accessible material, possibly encompassing the same meanings as the original object[58].

Deposits of rare and valuable ornaments, including deer canines and copper, gold or limestone pendants, along with copper bracelets and/or axes, are sometimes attributed to the social hierarchies existing within the Cucuteni Culture, these being accumulations of goods which were part of

---

46 ÖZDOĞAN 2009: 217.
47 CRNOBRNJA *et al*. 2009: 16.
48 JOVANOVIĆ 2011: 23.
49 JOVANOVIĆ 2011: 29.
50 MELLAART 1975: 255.
51 LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2006: 272.
52 LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2001: 231.
53 HAȘOTTI 1997: 81.
54 PREOTEASA 2013: 102.
55 MARINESCU-BÎLCU 1981: 72, Fig. 198/6, 199/2, 199/3, 13.
56 URSACHI 1990: 339, 341, 347-350, Fig. II/1-2, III/1-2, XIV/1-3, XV/1-3.
57 CHAPMAN *et al*. 2014: 150, Fig. 17.
58 CHOYKE 2008: 5-21.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

the props of cult administrators or tribal leaders[59]. The most opulent hoards, on the other hand, are those from the Bulgarian area, in Varna, where the rich inventory accompanied the deceased in the afterlife[60].

During the mentioned period, copper also has a great and symbolic value, and in the Cucuteni temples and sanctuaries we notice a series of prestigious elements, or rare artefacts, such as the copper axes in the sanctuaries from Mărgineni[61] or from Ștefănești-Stânca Doamnei[62]. Copper jewellery was discovered on the territory of the Cucuteni Culture, at Ruginoasa, Hăbășești, Târpești[63].

Certain small artefacts, such as beads or perforated deer canines, were deposited in containers, or grouped in hoards such as those from Cărbuna, Hăbășești, Ulmeni or Vlădiceasca[64], possibly accumulated to be used at the right time. Interesting is the discovery of the 40 clay beads from Izvoare, together with other small calcined seeds of *Lithospermum purpureo coeruleum* (beads), which could be part of a necklace used on certain occasions[65]. We note other jewels in the treasures from Ariușd[66] or from Brad[67].

The presence of special or valuable artefacts inside places of worship could also be attributed to the fact that certain members of the society, probably wealthier than others, participated in the ceremonies, or that valuable objects, obtained through collective effort, were stored inside the temples[68]. Putting on the dedicated clothes, doing the hairstyle, placing the various jewels used only at events, all are part of the preliminary gestures. We wonder if the whole community was preparing in this way, or just the administrators of the cult.

---

59 BOGHIAN 2003: 163; MONAH *et al.* 2003: 129-140.
60 GEORGIEV 1978: 11-21; GIMBUTAS 1997: 39-47; IVANOV 1978.
61 MONAH 1997: 36, Fig. 5.
62 NIȚU, ȘADURSCHI 1994: 190, Fig. 6; KOVÁCS 2020a: 81-109.
63 BOGHIAN 2003: 163.
64 ALAIBA 2007: 33.
65 MARINESCU-BÎLCU, CÂRCIUMARU 1992: 360-361, Fig. 1-2; 5.
66 LÁSZLÓ 1911: 224.
67 URSACHI 2010: 300.
68 DEXTER 1990: 4.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

In the same set of physical preparation, we include the possible decoration/make-up of the body or the face, supported by the presence of numerous fragments of red ochre discovered in the sanctuaries. Finds of red ochre are mentioned at Çatal Höyük in Space 107, in a cut-out in the floor. Here the ochre was in powder form and not as applied paint, leading to the conclusion that it was a ritual deposit[69].

Within the Cucuteni culture, several deposits of colour were discovered, most of them hidden. A lump of red ochre is mentioned at Suceveni within the Stoicani - Bolgrad - Aldeni culture[70]; at Hăbășești a red prismatic pencil has been discovered, considered to have been used for painting[71]. Other hematite fragments, with traces of use, were discovered at Scânteia[72] and at Calu[73]. In the Ukrainian area, such minerals were discovered at Veselyi Kut, Trostjančyk, Vărvăreuca III. Of course, a large part of these may have been used for painting ceramics, as interpreted by R. Alaiba[74].

In the same framework of physical preparation of the cult officiant, we also include the use of masks. Although there are few life-size specimens in general for the prehistoric period, we observe a wide spread of this object on the physiognomy of some statuettes.

There are several examples of life-size masks in Europe. The mask from Uivar is the first evidence of the presence of clay masks in the Neolithic period (**Fig. 6**)[75]. The artefact was widely published at the time of its discovery by researchers from Uivar, presenting in detail the way it was made and the various facial characteristics[76]. We note realistic modelling, including traces of possible teeth made of perishable material. There is clear evidence that this mask was made to be attached with a string, as evidenced by the small perforations on the edge of the artefact[77]. A fragment from

---

69 MATTHEWS 1996.
70 DRAGOMIR 1970: Fig. 7/2-5, note 35,
71 DUMITRESCU *et. al*. 1954: 57, Fig. 44/8.
72 CHIRICA *et. al*. 1999: 16.
73 VULPE 1941: 63.
74 ALAIBA 2007: 33.
75 HANSEN 2004-2005: 30.
76 SCHIER, DRAȘOVEAN 2004-2005: 42.
77 SCHIER, DRAȘOVEAN 2004-2005: 42-43.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Sechelbach (southern Germany, state Baden-Württemberg) is mentioned in the Linear Pottery Culture. The fragment represents the lower part of a face, with the demarcated chin, closed mouth, nose and a fragment of the right eye preserved[78]. From a functional point of view, we identify funerary masks, cultic dance masks, apotropaic masks for personal protection. Another category of masks is that which incorporates and symbolizes supernatural forces and spirits (which exist, are holy, nurturing, an ancestor, a deity, a cultic hero), which embody the creature itself[79].

The representations of miniature masks are more or less uniform over time. In some cultures, they are flat, triangular or, later, pentagonal without showing certain facial characteristics. The masks cover the entire physiognomy, but do not extend beyond the edge of the face and almost always have perforations on the edge, usually in the ear area. The head of the masked figurines is almost always tilted back, the eyes and mouth indicated by incisions. Generally, the gender is not indicated[80]. One of the most famous statuettes with a mask is the one from Liubcova, so far a unique artefact. The statuette is 13 cm tall and features details related to clothing, a possible jewel and perforations for other jewels (**Fig. 7**). It was analysed and widely published precisely because of its uniqueness[81]. The aspect that is important for our study is the mask that the statuette holds in its left hand. In the right hand it holds an askos-type vessel. The mask is poor in details, showing two almond-shaped eyes and a mouth with the corners pulled down[82]. The entire figurine has been interpreted as a priestess who takes off her mask when she is in front of the divinity to receive the sacred liquid[83].

If we can get a few faint hints about the physical preparations, about the spiritual preparation we can at most assume possibilities, based on analogies from known historical religions. Prior to a ceremony, the priest/cult administrator must meditate and concentrate through prayer and fasting. The frequency of prayer is established by each religion in a different way. Also, the calendar of these moments is different and determined by

78 HORVÁTH 2004: Fig. 14/3.
79 BEHN 1955: 4.
80 HORVÁTH 2004: 210.
81 LUCA, DRAGOMIR 1987: 31-42.
82 SCHIER, DRAŞOVEAN 2004-2005: 45.
83 LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2008: 9.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

historical specificities. Universally we observe an emotional, psychic and mental preparation, subject to the same rules.

Also, in the preparation stage we integrate the preparation of food for the banquet. From an archaeological point of view, we mention two important elements: the sacrificing of animals and the cultic grinding. We do not exclude the choice of the seeds and the cooking of the food to be consumed. The wide spread of grinders led to the idea of a cultic grinding activity, which takes place in the sanctuary and in places in the immediate vicinity[84]. The sacred grinding, the preservation of grains and ground flour, the preparation of ritual food are elements documented in certain temples[85]. The grains are often kept in the sanctuary with the aim of being "sanctified", in boxes with signs and symbols, as in Kormadin (**Fig. 8**), or Vésztő-Mágor (**Fig. 9**)[86].

The most visible traces of the feasts are the pits where the animal remains resulting from the sacrifices were stored. In Space 107 at Çatal Höyük, groups of animal bones had been deposited along a wall, interpreted as possible traces of a feast[87].

Other examples can be found at Ceamurlia de Jos, with two pits (Pit 20 and 21) that were heavily burned, covered with ash and coals, along with numerous animal bones and fish remains. These have been interpreted as places where the offerings later introduced into the pit were burned, or for the preparation of community banquets[88]. Other ritual pits are mentioned at Medgidia-Cocoașă[89] and Limanu[90].

Conducting rituals inside sanctuaries requires certain dedicated equipment, as indicated by the variety of the inventories discovered inside the buildings.

The tools used in the rituals, such as anthropomorphic or zoomorphic cult vessels, and statuettes, were made by craftsmen who may have observed

84 LAZAROVICI 2003: 65-86.
85 LAZAROVICI 2003.
86 KALICZ, RÁCZY 1987.
87 MATTHEWS 1996.
88 BERCIU 1966: 147.
89 HAȘOTTI 1997: 25.
90 HAȘOTTI 1997: 23.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

certain restrictions, such as purification, fasting or even abstinence. D. Boghian believes that these preliminary preparations of the craftsmen had the role of giving sacred character to the representations, used in individual or collective rituals[91].

Within the cult inventory we also include anthropomorphic statuettes, which are often decorated. Their decoration depends on the type of representation. Most feature clothing elements and pieces of adornment. D. Boghian considers that there is an interdependence between the sacred and the profane. Sometimes the decoration was interpreted as a tattoo or body marking, which could provide clues to certain social details, such as age, gender, social position[92].

The clothing of the statuettes, apart from the representation through decorative techniques, may also have included perishable elements. The origin of the anthropomorphic representations was established in the Anatolian region, later spreading in the Thessalian and Balkan-Danube areas, with extensions towards the centre of Europe, up to the Iberian area[93]. We note an overwhelming feminine presence compared to the masculine presence, which could give a hint about the place occupied by women within the Neolithic pantheon. There is a 20-1 ratio between the feminine and masculine statuettes in the Neolithic period, across the European territory. Even if the statuettes are made stylistically in the same manner, each one is different. Most of the time facial features are missing or only suggested, instead other features are prominent, such as the hips, the sexual triangle or the breasts, which has led to the idea that these feminine representations are goddesses of fertility, although the term can be a quite narrowing one, considering that the statuettes could have had multiple functions, like the historical goddesses Manna or Isis[94].

So far, there is no consensus regarding the use of statuettes in rituals, nor how they were actually used. Moreover, it is still being discussed whether these are cult objects, an aspect firmly stated by M. Gimbutas in

---

91 BOGHIAN 2004: 139.
92 BOGHIAN 2003: 144.
93 NEAGOE 2011: 65.
94 DEXTER 1990: 4.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

several studies[95], toys[96] or ways of stating a group identity[97]. R. Alaiba considers that the statuary ensembles were housed in order to use them in a ceremony[98]. The presence of statuettes in Anatolian sanctuaries, in particular, has been interpreted as the result of offerings to the gods made by several people, over different moments in time[99]. The statuettes were also seen as images of common people, and not representations of supernatural or divine beings[100].

The most consistent interpretations of feminine statuettes are related to the ancestral image of a Mother Goddess, with attributes of fertility and fecundity, generally associated with a mythology of earth as source of the life[101].

We also discuss the presence of conclaves or so-called statuette sets. Apart from the well-known ones discovered at Poduri[102] and Isaiia[103], there are such groups in other areas as well, such as Bulgaria. The Ovčarovo conclave, interpreted as a cult scene, also includes several tablets painted with signs and symbols[104]. Another interesting deposit is the one from Dumești, consisting of 12 statuettes, 6 feminine and 6 masculine, of similar size, made in the same technique, perhaps by the same artist[105]. Other examples of statuary groups can be found at Ghelăiești[106] and Buznea[107]. Considering the existence of such "sets" with various representations, grouped according to certain criteria, we ask ourselves whether it is possible that, at some point, each of the anthropomorphic statuettes discovered separately or disparately, did belong to such sets.

---

95 GIMBUTAS 1974.
96 UCKO 1962: 38-54.
97 BAILEY 2005: 26-44.
98 ALAIBA 2007: 151.
99 NEAGOE 2011: 65.
100 COMȘA 1995: 46-47.
101 GIMBUTAS 1999: 3-43; GOLAN 2003: 416- 23.
102 MONAH 1982: 11-13.
103 URSULESCU, TENCARIU 2006.
104 CHERNAKOV 2008: 70.
105 ALAIBA 2007: 151; pl. 44-45.
106 CUCOȘ 1993: 59-80.
107 MIHAI, BOGHIAN 1977-1979: 429-452.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The vessels are important not only for their use as containers for various substances used in rituals, but also for their decoration and the significance thereof, providing possible clues to the social structure of the communities that produced and used them[108]. Considering their importance, both in the daily life of Neolithic communities and in the religious life, the vessels certainly had spiritual values, being included in the category of pyro-technologies, of transforming the primordial elements by burning[109]. R. Alaiba discusses the possible presence of sanctuaries and temples associated with ceramic workshops in the Ukrainian area, taking into account the presence of altars inside them, as well as the inventory related mainly to the manufacture of ceramics, such as those from Trostjančyk, Veselyj Kut, Shkarovka, Vărvăreuca VIII. Even its manufacture could be linked to a mythology in which each of the primordial elements has a determining role in its realization[110].

*

The ritual can be analysed on several levels, depending on the aspect we are looking for. The ritual is communication and verbalization, gesture, controlled and predetermined movement of the limbs, setting a background and following a script. Certain words are used only to describe a sequence of the ritual, words that are forbidden to be used afterwards. Certain tones or music may be associated with the words spoken for the divinity, for the communication with higher forces[111].

Regarding the performing of the rituals, we believe that offering activities took place. The offering is made to the gods or goddesses, in order to ensure the well-being of the community, or to attract various types of blessings: on the house, the family, the inhabitants, the crops. Offering activities were classified into: blood sacrifice (*mactatio*), liquid offering (*libatio*), burnt offering (*fumigatio* and *purificatio*), product and food offering (*oblatio*)[112].

---

[108] KOVÁCS 2014a: 96.
[109] BOGHIAN 2003: 168.
[110] ALAIBA 2007: 151-152.
[111] RAPPAPORT 1999: 50; 166.
[112] HEGEDŰS, MAKKAY 1987: 102.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Blood offering or sacrifice is attested as early as Pre-Pottery Neolithic in the "Skull building" at Çayönü. The numerous flint blades discovered inside, as well as the analyses of the residues on a large stone slab with traces of human and sheep/goat blood, associated with the deposition of a large batch of skulls, lead to the conclusion that sacrifices were carried out here, and the stone slab was used in the decapitation process. There were also traces of blood in the "Terrazzo Building"[113]. We have a clear image about the sacrifice of bovids through the two zoomorphic statuettes from 'Ain Ghazal, "killed" with flint blades inserted into their bodies (**Fig. 10**)[114]. In building B2 at Tell 'Abr 3 there are channels for draining blood through the floors[115], and at Wadi Faynan 16, a trough had been installed in front of the bench, on which a goat or ibex bucranium was fixed, precisely to drain the blood[116].

In the Sanctuary at Tumba Madžari (**Fig. 11**) the cups next to the walls were interpreted as being used to collect and preserve the blood offering from the sacrificed animals[117], and at Vinča there is mention a sacrificial altar, fragmentary, unfortunately without other details[118]. In House 1 at Kormadin there was a monumental sacrificial altar, damaged, unique in the Vinča culture in terms of its shape and dimensions (**Fig. 8**)[119]. In Temple 1 from Parța there was a space dedicated to blood sacrifices, marked by a box with large sharp-edged flint objects, located between the layers of the floor and on the floor (**Fig. 3**)[120]. In Temple 2 from Parța blood offerings were made in special cups and placed on the altar[121].

Sacrificial scenes or their organization are not pictorially illustrated in the European Neolithic. A single model showing a possible sacrifice was discovered at Vounas, in Ancient Cypriot, discovered in Tomb 22. The model is open-top, without a roof, in the shape of a circular vessel and includes

113 HOLE 2002: 201.
114 BANNING 2003: 18.
115 YARTAH 2005: 5.
116 MITHEN *et al.* 2011: 354-357.
117 SANEV 2006: 173.
118 NIKOLIĆ, VUKOVIĆ 2008: 60.
119 JOVANOVIČ, GLISIĆ 1961: 131.
120 LAZAROVICI *et al.* 2001: 208.
121 LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI, MERLINI 2011: 187.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

several characters. The entrance is slightly raised above the rim of the bowl. The space is a restrictive one, where uninitiated people are not invited (proof is the character looking from the outside, located next to the door). Inside, next to the entrance are the boxes in which there are two pairs of four-legged, horned animals, supervised and guarded by characters in two pairs. The tallest character, even seated, is the one on the throne. In front of the throne there are three other characters, with the head of a bull, holding a serpent. In front of the basin there is a kneeling figure. Four statuettes are placed on the miniature bench. Six men are standing, placed in a circle. To the left of the throne there is a woman with a child in her arms[122].

Considering the many characters, as well as the complexity of the scene, the model has been interpreted in a number of different ways: either the sacrifice of the child, or it represents a funeral ceremony, with the deceased on the throne. The scene presents, in our opinion, a moment preceding the sacrifice of the animals (**Fig. 13**). They are to be killed by those who stay near the fenced off area. The space is occupied by characters in positions of power: the leader on the throne, his wife and child, next to the throne; the elders sitting on the bench, and the young men standing, with marked virile attributes, are the ones who defend the community, the soldiers of the time[123].

The offering of liquids (*libatio*) is much more difficult to demonstrate, leaving no consistent traces. Vessels can have two valences, both profane and sacred, and their definition as cult vessels used in rituals can be discussed according to the context of discovery. The cult vessel is in reality any vessel consecrated for a certain type of worship. Certain forms dedicated to the cult are mentioned, for the Bronze Age in Greece, for example, the rhytons, used to bring wine offerings to the ancestors or the gods[124]. Another type of vessel dedicated to libations is the askos, widespread in the Aegean area from the Early Helladic period to the Classical period[125]. There is great variety in the shapes of the vessels discovered in sanctuaries and temples. We distinguish

---

122 KARAGEORGHIS 1976: 105-106, figs. 70-71.
123 KARAGEORGHIS 1976: 71.
124 KIPFER 2000: 272.
125 http://archaeologywordsmith.com (accessed on 23.12.2022).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

anthropomorphic or anthropomorphized vessels, zoomorphic vessels, vessels without decoration or even made of coarse material, but which protect certain objects of worship. Anthropomorphic vessels or vessels with anthropomorphic physiognomy were considered cult objects[126]. Certain vessels without any typological series, such as the "Hyde Vessel" from Vinča, was considered since its discovery a cult vessel, associated with liquid offerings (**Fig. 14**)[127]. The dove-vessel from Vučedol was considered to have the purpose of preserving a ritual liquid[128].

We consider related to the liquid offerings the cups on certain monumental elements, such as the double statue from Trușești[129], the anthropomorphic head on the oven from Mărgineni[130] or the column with concavity from Greaca[131]. Also related to the circulation of liquids and their deposition in situations other than domestic ones are the so-called kernos vessels, with several drain holes. The vessel called "The Mourning Woman", discovered at Parța, stands out in this category. Both the anthropomorphic features and the posture of the hands, as well as the signs and symbols on the body and neck determine its inclusion in the series of cult vessels, perhaps linked to an astronomical mythology[132]. A reminiscence of libations can still be seen today in the commemoration of the deceased, when a drop of liquid is poured on the ground in their memory, so the deceased will have the same in the afterlife. A few centuries ago, the ritual of offering liquids and food to the deceased was more elaborate[133].

A miniature representation of the libations are the statuettes from Liubcova and the sacred scene from Kotchati. Statuette I from Liubcova is shown in a moment of dedication of the liquid, holding in the right hand an askos vessel, and in the left hand the mask, as if showing its physiognomy at the moment of pouring the liquid (**Fig. 7**)[134]. Also suggestive is the scene from

---

[126] LAZAROVICI 1988: 38.
[127] NIKOLIĆ, VUKOVIĆ 2008: 56, Fig. 5
[128] TEŽAK-GREGL 2006: 114.
[129] PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA, FLORESCU, FLORESCU 1999: 67.
[130] MONAH 1997: 36, Fig. 5.
[131] LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2006: 538, 598
[132] LAZAROVICI 2002-2003: 57-64.
[133] FLOREA MARIAN 1892: 361-362.
[134] LUCA, DRAGOMIR 1989: 299-233.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Kotchati, Cyprus, showing three idols with column-like bodies terminated at the upper ends with bull heads (**Fig. 13**). On the plate behind the bodies there are two horns, also interpreted as possible erect *phalloi*, with the aim of highlighting the virile force associated with the bull. In front of the central bull, the largest in the whole scene, is a feminine figure holding an amphora. It is possible that the vessel contains the sacred liquid for offering, or the woman is waiting to receive the liquid from the deity[135]. Liquid offerings signify abundance, present today in idiomatic expressions such as "the land of milk and honey".

The offering by burning and transformation of substances through smoke (*fumigatio*) is difficult to prove, although it must have taken place, given that the central space of the buildings is generally occupied by the hearth or oven. The smoke rising to the deities of the heaven carries the thanksgiving offering, perhaps for rich harvests. The cultic objects in the shape of a house with the body of a woman modelled in the upper part, specific for the area of Macedonia, were considered divinities that individualize the building models, also having symbolic functions (**Fig. 15**)[136]. The perforations were initially seen as having a practical purpose, for hanging the artefacts with the help of strings[137], but N. Čausidis, based on ethnographic analogies, believes that the cut-outs were meant for depositing certain substances inside, such as water, milk, oils, seeds, flour, bread, flowers, leaves or even elements of animal origin such as wool, fur, feathers. Animal fats could have been burned inside[138].

At Parța, in Temple 1, Altar C consists of a hearth and a pit with layers of varying thickness from burnings on the hearth. Usually, the ash resulting from *fumigatio* activities is kept or deposited in special places, accompanied by various objects. In the pit associated with the hearth, in the layers of ash and charcoal, incomplete burnings, straw and chaff remains were found, so it is possible that sheaves with ears of grain were burned. Numerous other portable hearths from Temple 2 performed the function of burning table (**Fig. 1**)[139]. We also mention Feature no. 1 from Vorniceni,

---

[135] KARAGEORGHIS 1976: 103, Fig. 69.
[136] ČAUSIDIS 2010: 32.
[137] SANEV 2006: 189.
[138] ČAUSIDIS 2010: 33.
[139] LAZAROVICI 2003: 76-80.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

located in the immediate vicinity of Dwelling 5, where a vessel with an inner step (a possible miniature bench) was discovered, with half of a feminine statuette (**Fig. 16**), together with fragments of a binocular vessel. Underneath the statuette were remains of a platform, coals, calcined bones, two skulls and horns of *Bos primigenius*, jaw and ribs of bovids, some calcined[140].

The burnings and the sending of smoke to the gods are linked to the hearth, in a logical way, in the sense that mentally fire and heat are vital elements in the life of Neolithic people[141]. The platform in the courtyard of the sanctuary at Achileion had consistent traces of charcoal, interpreted as ritual burnings, made on the occasion of harvesting or sowing[142]. Burning as purification occurs on the occasion of the regeneration of time, such as the New Year, which reiterates a cosmogony, and burning signifies the destruction of the old god for the rebirth of the new god[143]. A possible cult of fire and hearth could be manifested by the presence and use of ovens, hearths, or models thereof, individually or within house models. The objects, ubiquitous in buildings, could symbolize the union of the Great Mother, the fertile woman, and the masculine Fire that transforms matter[144].

The food offering (*oblatio*) consists of depositing certain foods, fruits, or vegetables, on an altar to be consumed probably in other situations, by burning or by placing a fire as a result of some "instructions given" by the deity[145]. Unfortunately, there is no evidence for this type of deposition on the altars, but for historical periods the *oblatio* took place inside the temples, and the king or the priest as the king's delegate acted on behalf of the subjects by offering food and other objects to the statue to the god. This became the basis of the rituals performed in the temples, all for the aid of the state. In return for the offerings, the god was expected to grant the king and the people success in war and a bountiful harvest[146].

---

140 DIACONESCU 2012: 15.
141 VULCĂNESCU 1987: 448-452.
142 GIMBUTAS 1997: 152.
143 ELIADE 2000: 55.
144 GIMBUTAS 1989: 25.
145 DUDLEY 1846: 52.
146 DAVID 2007: 78.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Associated with the offering activities are also other elements, much less tangible. Apart from the communal consumption of food in a banquet, it is possible that the rituals include music, dance and/or the consumption of psychotropic substances, which accentuate the euphoric state and ecstasy of the participants or the officiant[147]. The so-called Cucuteni support vessels could have functioned as supports for drums, which would explain their presence in cultic contexts[148].

In most religious buildings we notice ovens, which were probably intended for baking the quantities of bread needed for the banquet. Also, meat must have played an important role.

Feasts are attested at Çatal Höyük, a conclusion reached by researchers after careful study of the bones. If the bones resulting from family consumption are highly fragmented, the deposits after feasts are characterized by a deposit of whole bones. Larger amounts of meat were consumed in feasts than in family settings, including species larger than sheep. The traces of the feast were quickly buried, either because they would deteriorate, or because it was customary to bury them after the feast, which led to the discovery of several bones from the same animal. It is interesting to note that the equids were not eaten at the banquets[149].

The participants in the rituals are difficult to identify, but we can make some assumptions. One possible scenario is that inside the sanctuaries, given the limited space, only the initiated entered, and around the sanctuary was the rest of the community, participating in either part of the ritual or just the feast. The second possibility is that the ritual lasted long enough that the entire community, during a limited time interval, entered and exited, thus each partially participating in the event. The third possible scenario is that the worship space is so restrictive that, although we call these buildings temples or community sanctuaries, inside there actually was only the officiant of the worship and possible helpers, and the community members did not have the right to enter or to look at the statues fixed inside. Of all the three possibilities, the first one seems to be the most plausible, taking into account the fact that it is somewhat illogical to equip a certain space with

147 HAYDEN 2003: 52.
148 KOVÁCS, GRIDAN 2015: 231-256.
149 RUSSELL, MARTIN 1998.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

impressive elements only to later restrict access to it to a tiny number of people. The second scenario concerns the way the ceremony is performed, and in the absence of written sources or more advanced certainties, we consider leaving the discussion open. Some restriction exists, however, and at Çatal Höyük one can even discuss the prohibition of displaying certain statues. For example, in building E.VI.31, on the west wall, there were several holes in the wall above the head of the goddess, an indicator that a support was inserted for hanging a cloth, intended to cover the face or perhaps the statue entirely[150]. Also, at Parța the monumental double statue was presented only on certain festive occasions or on certain occasions, and for this purpose a window was built. Therefore, it is possible that even some community sanctuaries had access restrictions.

Another possibility is related to the fact that certain larger settlements, perhaps economically stronger, had the necessary resources to build and equip temples and community sanctuaries, and others, less wealthy, participated in the ceremonies held in neighbouring settlements, so that some settlements could have had the role of cult centres or ritual sites[151].

The development and support of animal and plant fertility must have been an important function for the Neolithic goddess, as well as the feminine principle that was the primary object of worship, and the bull's head would have provided all of these[152]. The concept of ritual of fertility and fecundity is much more complex than it has been described over time. The concept has been used until its semantic exhaustion, in multiple studies related to anthropomorphic representations, without offering any explanations or details about what the respective ritual consists of, or what kind of activities were carried out to fulfil it.

*

After the rituals were performed and the banquet was over, we assume that there must have been an ending. It is difficult nowadays to discern which objects were kept for future rituals and which were broken, decommissioned, thrown away or even burned, to be no longer used. The

---

150 MELLAART 1964: 47.
151 URSULESCU, TENCARIU 2006: 73; LUCA 2016: 192.
152 DEXTER 1990: 4.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

bones resulting from the feast are thrown into pits, and the remains of perishable food may have been thrown into the field, to be consumed by birds or animals. Certain items, after use, may have been intentionally broken so that they could never be used again. We ask ourselves the question whether a part of the clothing was also decommissioned, burned or buried, as happens nowadays with the robes of orthodox priests after the death of the priest. The fact that many of the anthropomorphic statuettes are found fragmentary has led to the question of whether they were broken on purpose[153]. Their intentional fragmentation, for certain particular cases, could be explained by the cancellation of their properties and the power embedded in the divine image[154].

All the elements preserved after the performing of a certain ritual are actually mnemonic methods, intended to remind of a certain event. The preservation of bulls' heads as a totem may have occurred in the case of the four skulls laid on a paving of stones, in the shape of a cross, at Poduri, next to an open-air hearth[155]. It is possible that bucrania were periodically taken out, presented and then reinstalled. The head in general is considered the residence of the soul, encompassing all the strength of the animal or man. Also, the head is not eaten, being connected to certain prohibitions, in several cultures around the world. Keeping the bull's head as a trophy after the procession was done to preserve and attract certain protective forces over the settlement[156].

Given its importance, it is possible that it was passed on to members of distant communities who participated in the rituals in the sanctuaries and temples of the cult centres, to bring prosperity to the inhabitants who did not participate.

The woman and the bull are meant to represent a divine couple, namely the Mother Goddess and the Bull God, being some of the most powerful images in the Near East and the Mediterranean area, starting from the dawn of the Neolithic, with deep origins in the distant Paleolithic[157]. In

---

153 BÁNFFY 2005.
154 LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI. 2008: 7-15.
155 MONAH *et al*. 1983: 10.
156 LAZAROVICI 2009a: 241.
157 CAUVIN 2002: 238.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

the case of the Parța temples, we observe an obsession for these two characters, in various forms: The Great Mother Goddess and the Bull God (**Fig. 17**). The cult of the bull is visible in a number of situations in Temple 2, as well as in numerous features from the same site[158]. Bull representations are some of the most powerful and widespread images throughout the Anatolian, Balkan and Carpathian-Danubian areas, with extensions towards central Europe[159]. The monumental statues, the cups of blood, the grains deposited in boxes, the grinders, the vessels, the representation of the heavenly bodies on the wall of the sanctuary are directly related to a vast mythology related to Mother Earth, the germinative force of seeds, the light and heat of the Sun, as well as the waxing and waning phases of the Moon[160]. The process of learning agricultural techniques was a complex one that involved several aspects, such as observation, experiment and even chance, which determined the accumulation of knowledge and its subsequent transmission to the next generations. The cultivation of plants also determined the spiritual sphere, through the emergence of associations between the earth that bears fruit and the woman who gives birth, through the concept of Terra Genitrix (Mother Earth), a basic element of the concept of fertility and fecundity[161].

The sacred place does not lose its sacredness after its abandonment, there are some testimonies regarding the fact that a cross was erected on the altars of the disappeared medieval churches, so that the place would be marked and known in the future[162].

Essential questions remain about the Neolithic divinities. Is there really a pantheon? What did it look like and what was its composition? Of course, religious practices were predominantly agrarian, with elements to ensure the abundance and prosperity of harvests[163].

The multitude of forms of representation of the woman and the bull lead to the idea that the divinity is a feminine one, with multiple attributes

---

158 LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2001: 147.
159 CAUVIN 2002: 238.
160 LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2001: 339.
161 BOGHIAN 2003: 152.
162 URSULESCU, TENCARIU 2006: 73.
163 MIHAI, BOGHIAN 1977-1979: 432-433.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

and avatars[164]. M. Gimbutas made a classification of these feminine representations, mainly idols or anthropomorphic vessels, identifying several hierophanies of the same main goddess (bird goddess, goddess of death, etc.)[165]. This feminine character, omnipresent in the central, south-eastern and southern European areas, is sometimes represented on a monumental scale, resulting true cult altars. Correlating the low light or the light directed on the monumental statues (for example Sanctuary 2 from Kormadin, Sanctuary 2 from Parța, Temple L 24 from Trușești) it is possible to induce the feeling of mystery, of impressing the viewer, the worshiper, the believer or the "priest" who entered in the temple. It is possible that this was the purpose of making altars and statues of impressive dimensions[166].

The bull appears in multiple poses, made in different techniques, in relief, painted, miniature, in complex and/or hybrid forms. The associations of the woman with the bull are ubiquitous in the European Neolithic, as some of the most complex images, with references to a mythology with as yet obscure meanings[167]. The attributes of this feminine divinity are revealed by the images associated with her, such as fish, snakes, birds, vegetal elements[168]. Another omnipresent character in the cultures analysed by us is the bull. Its depictions range from wall paintings, reliefs with skulls and bucrania made of clay, the stylized bucrania or clay horns, bulls' skeletons or skulls deposited as offerings or as leftovers from public feasts, zoomorphic idols in the shape of the animal. As a symbol, the bull represents the God of the Storm, through his roar likened to thunder, the god who brings rain and ensures the growth of plants[169].

The bucranium includes a series of magical or apotropaic symbols. These symbols are related to obtaining milk, libations, sacrifices, offerings of ground materials[170]. In the sanctuaries at Parța, the bucranium has a central

[164] CHIRICA *et al*. 2010: 181.

[165] GIMBUTAS 1989; GIMBUTAS 1989a; GIMBUTAS 1984; GIMBUTAS 1991; GIMBUTAS 1997.

[166] KOVÁCS 2014: 195-240.

[167] ELIADE 2000: 24.

[168] CHIRICA *et al*. 2010: 182.

[169] ELIADE 2000: 49-52.

[170] MAKKAY 1971.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

place and a monumental construction, associated with the column, meandered incisions, the hearth, places for burning offerings. Sometimes it has a stylized form, only the horns being made, in this situation including the attributes and meaning of the consecration horns[171]. Another form of representation of the bull god is through the consecration horns. Through their symbolism, these acquired meanings close to those of the bucranium. We must not lose sight of the bullhorn with its variants and derivatives. In Greek mythology, for example, there is the cornucopia, the horn of abundance. We find that the representations of the bull have taken on extremely varied forms and meanings over time[172].

*

Few conclusions related to worship places

We consider the building of the temple or the sanctuary as a dynamic place, where the preparation of the events is carried out through the preceding activities already described and where the ceremonies take place, under the guidance of the priestess or officiant of worship. Inside are kept the elements related to the paraphernalia and the performance of the rituals. When they can no longer be used, the objects are either destroyed, or ritually decommissioned (such as turning the grinders face down), or the building itself is completely destroyed and buried, as a symbolic "funeral".

Most of the time the religious sphere is defined as being separate from the profane world, but in reality, the two elements compose a unitary image, a single mental world, considering the objects from domestic life (vessels, grinders, looms) placed in sanctuaries or cult elements fixed within some homes (columns, bucrania, steles). Hierophany is the term that designates the manifestation of the sacred. After all, in the prehistoric period, anything could have been a hierophany over time, in a specific space:

---

[171] LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2001: 255.
[172] LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2001: 278.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

animals, tools, gestures, children's games, dances, musical instruments, etc. This presupposes a holistic conception of religion[173].

Sanctuaries and temples are spaces directly influenced by the sacred beings who reside and have their image inside. Spirits are perceived as beings that do not show themselves unless they have secured a special space for this. People approaching the sacred space must meet certain conditions, such as initiation, purification, a certain code of conduct[174].

Large-scale plastic representations from several sites prove the existence of separate divinities with well-established attributes. The many monumental artefacts, as well as smaller idols, constitute elements of an organized religious life, being linked to a specific architecture, with various activities, all centred on the image of the divinity[175].

Since the dawn of human history, there have been ritualistic or at least symbolic behaviours. Each artistic expression is in fact a product, but also a mirror of the respective civilization, regardless of the one we refer to[176]. Art cannot be separated from the religious sphere, and a certain ideology or cosmology can be illustrated in artistic representations[177].

Sanctuaries in general are not built exclusively for the purpose of housing cult elements or ritual paraphernalia, but also for a dedication and highlighting of the spiritual space within the community. From this perspective the construction of a dedicated cult building is a way of representing a distinct identity of the tribe. Ultimately, sanctuaries and temples are not the passive echoes of a message that has been lost in the mists of time, but evidence of a rich spiritual life that has formed along the way, with a coherent register of images, with messages based on signs and symbols, with sets of rules, with rules of conduct, all stemming from a common mythology that characterizes the South-Eastern European space in the Neolithic period.

---

[173] GIMBUTAS 1989: 321.
[174] DURKHEIM 1995: 283.
[175] LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI, 2006: 306.
[176] FORNI 1970: 357.
[177] VERPOORTE 2001: 16.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Bibliography

ALAIBA 2007 Alaiba, R., *Complexul cultural Cucuteni – Tripolie: meşteşugul olăritului*, Ed. Junimea, Iaşi.

BAILEY 2005 Bailey, D., W., *Beyond the meaning of Neolithic houses: specific objects and serial repetition*, in: Bailey, D., Whittle, A., Cummings, V. (eds.), *(Un)settling the Neolitihic*, Bristol, 90-97.

BÁNFFY 2005 Bánffy, E., *Gestures from artefacts within domestic rituals in the Neolithic: different attitudes to certain types of cult objects*, in: *The Archaeology of Gesture: Reconstructing Prehistoric Technical and Symbolic Behaviour'. The round-table session organised as part of the 11th Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists held between the 5th and 11th of September 2005 in Cork*, Ireland.

BANNING 2003 Banning, E. B., *Housing Neolithic Farmers*, in: *Near Eastern Archaeology*, Vol. 66, No. 1/2, *House and Home in the Southern Levant*, March-June, 4-21.

BEHN 1955 Behn, F., *Vorgeschichtliches Maskenbrauchtum*, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Vol. 102, Sitzungsberichte, Leipzig, 1-40.

BEM, BĂLĂȘESCU 2005 Bem, C., Bălășescu, A., *A few considerations regarding an exceptional archaeological situation. Foundation pit of the settlement or occasional offering? (Bucșani, Giurgiu county, România)*, in: *Cultură şi Civilizaţie la Dunărea de Jos, Muzeul Dunării de Jos*, Călăraşi, 317-336.

BERCIU 1966 Berciu, D., *Zorile istoriei în Carpați și la Dunăre*, Ed. Științifică, București.

BERGGREN, HARROD 1996 Berggren, K., Harrod, J. B., *Understanding Marija Gimbutas*, in: *Journal of Prehistoric Religions*, X, 70-73.

BLAKE, KNAPP 2005 Blake E., Knapp, B., *The Material Expression of Cult, Ritual and Feasting*, in: Blake, E., Knapp, B., (eds). *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 102-129.

BODEAN 2001 Bodean, S., *Așezările culturii Precucuteni-Tripolie A din Republica Moldova*, Ed. Pontos, Chișinău.

BOGHIAN 2003 Boghian, D., *Începuturile istoriei omenirii*, Ed. Bucovina Istorică, Suceava.

BOGHIAN 2004 Boghian, D., *Comunităţile cucuteniene din bazinul Bahluiului*, Ed. Universității "Ștefan cel Mare", Suceava.

BURDO 2005 Burdo, N., *The Sacral world of the Tripolye civilisation*, Kiev.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

ČAUSIDIS 2010 Čausidis, N., *Neolithic Ceramic Figurines in the Shape of a Woman – House from the Republic of Macedonia*, in: D. Gheorghiu, A. Cyphers (eds), *Anthropomorphic and Zoomorphic Miniature Figures in Eurasia, Africa and Meso-America. Morphology, materiality, technology, function and context*, BAR International Series, 25-35.

CAUVIN 2002 Cauvin, J., *The Symbolic Foundations of the Neolithic Revolution in the Near East*, in: Kuijt, I. (ed.), *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities. Social organisation, Identity and Differentiation*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 235-252.

CHAPMAN *et al*. 2014 Chapman, J., Videiko, M., Gaydarska, B., Burdo, N., Hale, D., *Architectural differentiation on a Trypillia mega-site: preliminary report on the excavation of a mega-structure at Nebelivka, Ukraine*, in: *Journal of Neolithic Archaeology*, 16, 135-157.

CHERNAKOV 2008 Chernakov, D., *Eneolithic ceramic tablets (altars) from Bulgaria*, in: *Pontica*, XLI, 65-78.

CHIRICA *et al*. 1999 Chirica, V., Mantu, C.-M., Ţurcanu, S., *Scânteia. Cercetare arheologică și restaurare*, Ed. Helios, Iași.

CHIRICA *et al*. 2010 Chirica, V., Văleanu, M.-C., Chirica, C.-V., *Motivul orantei în arta și religiile paleolitice și neo-eneolitice*, in: Chirica, V., Bodi, G. (eds.), *Arta antropomorfă feminină în preistoria spaţiului carpato-nistrean*, Ed. PIM, Iași, 159-204.

CHOYKE 2008 Choyke, A., *Shifting Meaning and Value through Imitation in the European Late Neolithic*, in: P. F. Biehl, J. Rassamakin (eds.), *Import and Imitation in Archaeology*, Langenweissach. Verlag Beier & Beran, Vol. 11, 5-22.

COMȘA 1995 Comșa, E., *Figurine antropomorfe pe teritoriul României*, Ed. Academiei Române, București.

CRNOBRNJA *et al*. 2009 Crnobrnja, A., Simić, Z., Janković, M., *Late Vinca culture settlement at Crkvine in Stubline*, in: *Starinar*, LIX, 9-25.

CUCOȘ 1993 Cucoș, Șt., *Complexe rituale cucuteniene de la Ghelăiești, jud. Neamț*, in: *SCIVA*, XLIV, 1993, 1, 59-80.

DAVID 2007 David, R., *Ancient Egypt*, in: J. R. Hinnells (ed.), *A Handbook of Ancient Religions*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 46-104.

DEXTER 1990 Dexter, M. R., *Whence the goddesses: a source book*, Teachers College Press, New York.

DIACONESCU 2012 Diaconescu, M., *Aspecte ale unor practici magico-religioase în așezarea cucuteniană de la Vorniceni, Pod Ibăneasa, jud. Botoșani*, in: *AMS*, XI, 14-25.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

DRAGOMIR 1970 Dragomir, I. T., *Aspectul cultural Stoicani-Aldeni, considerații asupra ceramicii*, in: *Danubius*, IV, 25-91.

DUDLEY 1846 J. Dudley, *Naology: Or, A Treatise on the Origin, Progress, and Symbolical Import of The Sacred Structures of the Most Eminent Nations and Ages of the World*, London.

DUMITRESCU *et al*. 1954 Dumitrescu, Vl., Vlad, D., Dumitrescu, H., Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M., Gostar, N., *Hăbășești. Monografie Arheologică*, Ed. Academiei, București.

DURKHEIM 1995 Durkheim, E., *Formele elementare ale vieții religioase*, Ed. Polirom, Iași.

ELIADE 2000 M. Eliade, *Istoria ideilor și credințelor religioase*, Univers Enciclopedic, București.

FERGUSON 1983 Ferguson, E. A., *An Investigation of The Relationships between the Physical Organisation of Religious Shrines and the Perceived Malevolence or Benevolence of the Gods*, in: *Cross-Cultural Research*, August, 18, 3, 185-194.

FLOREA MARIAN 1892 Florea Marian, S., *Înmormântarea la români - Studiu etnografic*, Ed. Academiei Române, București.

FORNI 1970 Forni, G., *Arte preistorica e struttura, analogia, individualita delle culture*, in: E. Anati (coord.), *Valcamonica Symposium 1968: Art Prehistorique. Actes du symposium international sur l'art préhistorique*, Capo di Ponte, Edizioni del Centro, 357-367.

GEORGIEV 1978 Georgiev, G. I., *Zur Erforschung von Jungsteinzeit und Kupferzeit in Bulgarien*, in: L. Spath (coord.), *Das erste Gold der Menschheit*, Varna, 11-21.

GIMBUTAS 1974 Gimbutas, M., *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe. Myths and cult Images*, Thames and Hudson, Londra.

GIMBUTAS 1984 Gimbutas, M., *The Godesses and Gods of old Europe. Myths and Cult Images*, Thames and Hudson, Londra.

GIMBUTAS 1989 Gimbutas, M., *Civilizație și cultură. Vestigii preistorice în sud-estul european*, Ed. Meridiane, București.

GIMBUTAS 1989a Gimbutas, M., *The Language of the Goddess*, Ed. Harper&Row Publishers, San Francisco.

GIMBUTAS 1997 Gimbutas, M., *Civilizația Marii Zeițe și sosirea cavalerilor războinici*, Ed. Lucretius, București.

GIMBUTAS 1991 Gimbutas, M., *The Civilization of Goddess. The World of Old Europe*, San Francisco.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

GIMBUTAS 1999 Gimbutas, M., *The Living Goddesses*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles.

GIOSANU 2009 Giosanu, E., *Practici rituale la fundarea casei și bisericii*, in: G. Bodi (ed.), *In media res praehistoriae: miscellanea in honorem annos LXV peragentis Professoris Dan Monah oblata*, Iași, 161-182.

GOLAN 2003 Golan, A., *Prehistoric religion. Mithology. Symbolism*, Jerusalem.

HANSEN 2004-2005 Hansen, S., *Figurinele neolitice din sudul bazinului carpatic*, in: *Analele Banatului*, S.N., XII-XIII, 25-40.

HAȘOTTI 1997 Hașotti, P., *Epoca neolitică în Dobrogea*, Bibliotheca Tomitana, Constanța.

HAYDEN 2003 Hayden, B., *A Prehistory of the Religion. Shamans, Sorcerers and Saints*, Smithonian Books, Washington.

HEGEDŰS, MAKKAY 1987 Hegedűs, K., Makkay, J., *Vésztő-Mágor. A settlement of the Tisza culture*, in: L. Tálas (ed.), *The Late Neolithic of the Tisza Region. A survey of recent excavations and their findings*, Budapest-Szolnok, 85-103.

HOLE 2002 Hole, F., *Function and Hierarchy in Neolithic Settlements*, in: I. Kuijt (ed.), *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities. Social organisation, Identity and Differentiation*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 191-209.

HORVÁTH 2004 Horváth, T., *A New Human Representation From The Baden Culture: A Mask From Balatonőszöd*, in: *Acta Archaeologica*, 55(3), 179–237.

IVANOV 1978 Ivanov, I. S., *Die Austellung "Das erste Gold der Menscheit -die alteste Zivilisation in Europa"*, in: L. Spath (coord.), *Das erste Gold der Menschheit*, Varna.

JÓNSSON 2003 Jónsson, G. H., *South summit area, excavation of Building 10*, in: *Çatalhöyük Archive Report*, Çatalhöyük Research Project, 53-58.

JOVANOVIĆ 2011 Jovanović, M., *Masters Of Clay And Wheat*, Novi Sad.

JOVANOVIĆ, GLISIĆ 1961 Jovanović, B., Glisić, J., *Eneolitsko naselje na Kormadinu kod Jakova*, in: *Starinar*, XI, 113-139.

KALICZ, RÁCZKY 1987 Kalicz, N., Raczky, P., *The Late Neolithic on the Tisza Region. A survey of recent archaeological research*, in: L. Tálas (ed.), *The Late Neolithic of the Tisza Region. A survey of recent excavations and their findings*, Budapest-Szolnok, 11-30.

KARAGEORGHIS 1976 Karageorghis, V., *The civilisation of Prehistoric Cyprus*, Ekdotike Athenon, Atena.

KIPFER 2000 Kipfer, B., A., *Encyclopedic dictionary of archaeology*, Springer Cham.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

KOVÁCS 2010 Kovács, A., *Definirea spatiului sacru: între monumental si ritualic*, in: *MemAntiq*, XXV-XXVI, (2008-2009), 75-88.

KOVÁCS 2014 Kovács A., *Monumental: architectonic features and inventory from European Neolithic and Copper Age sanctuaries*, in: S. Forțiu (ed.), *ArheoVest, II. In Honorem Gheorghe Lazarovici*, JATEPress Kiadó, Szeged, 195–240.

KOVÁCS 2014a Kovács, A., *Ritual Pots from European Neolithic and Copper Age Sanctuaries*, in: J. Marler (ed.), *Fifty Years of Tartaria Excavations. Festschrift in Honor of Gheorghe Lazarovici*. Ed. Lidana, Suceava.

KOVÁCS 2015 Kovács, A., *Neolithic Temple Walls from South-east Europe: Paintings, Colours, Patterns, Symbols*, in: C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici (eds.), *From Symbols To Signs*. In memory of Klaus Schmidt, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava, 201-230.

KOVÁCS 2020 Kovács, A., *Limitation and delimitation of the cult space – the entrance as transition space*, in: S. Forțiu (ed.), *Arheovest VIII. In Honorem Alexandru Răduescu*, Ed. JATEPress Kiado, Szeged, 69-88.

KOVÁCS 2020a Kovács, A., *Context and Symbolism of an Old Discovery. The Cross-Shaped Hearth from Ştefăneşti – Stânca Doamnei, Botoşani County, Romania*, in: A. Berzovan (ed.), *Studia Praehistorica et Antiqua. Miscellanea in honorem Silvia Teodor*, Ed. Universității „Al. I. Cuza”, 81-109.

KOVÁCS, GRIDAN 2015 Kovács, A., Gridan, S., *Experimente cu privire la muzica preistorică – noi interpretari asupra vaselor suport cucuteniene*, in: S. Forțiu (ed.), *Arheovest III. In Memoriam Florin Medeleț*, Ed. JATEPress Kiado, Szeged, 663-690.

KUIJT 2008 Kuijt, I., *The Regeneration of Life Neolithic Structures of Symbolic Remembering and Forgetting*, in: *Current Anthropology*, 49, 2, April, 171-197.

LÁSZLÓ 1911 László, F., *Háromszék vármegyei praemykenaei jellegű telepek. Stations de l'époque pré-mycénienne dans le comitat de Háromszék*, in: *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából*, 2, 2, 175-259.

LAZAROVICI 1988 Lazarovici, Gh., *Venus de Zăuan. Despre credințele și practicile magico-religioase*, in: *AMP*, XII, 23-47.

LAZAROVICI 2002-2003 Lazarovici, Gh., *Significations Regarding the Sacral Writing on the Cult Objects from the Carpathian-Balkan area*, in L. Nikolova (ed.), *Early Symbolic System for Communication in Southeast Europe*, BAR International Series, 1139, Vol. I, 57–64.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2001 Lazarovici, Gh., Drașovean, Fl., Maxim, Z., *Parța. Monografie arheologică, Vol. 1.1; vol. 1.2*, Ed. Waldpress, Timișoara.

LAZAROVICI 2003 Lazarovici, Gh., *Sacred Symbols on Neolithic cult Objects from the Balkans,* in: L. Nikolova (ed.), *Early Symbolic Systems for Communication in Southeast Europe*, BAR International Series 1139, Oxford, 57-64.

LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2006 Lazarovici, C. M., Lazarovici, Gh., *Arhitectura neoliticului și epocii cuprului din România, Vol. I,. Neoliticul*, Ed. Trinitas, Iași.

LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2008 Lazarovici, C. M., Lazarovici Gh., *Fragmentarea rituală a idolilor şi obiectelor de cult în Neolitic şi Epoca cuprului*, in: *AMT*, III, 7-15.

LAZAROVICI 2009 Lazarovici, C.-M., *Ritualuri de fundare, ritualuri de abandonare din cultura Cucuteni*, in: G. Bodi (ed.), *In media res praehistoriae: miscellanea in honorem annos LXV peragentis Professoris Dan Monah oblata*, Iași, 223-238.

LAZAROVICI 2009a Lazarovici, Gh., *Ritualuri de Fundare, ritualuri de abandonare in neolitic*, in: G. Bodi (ed.), *In media res praehistoriae. Miscellanea in honorem annos LXXV peragentis Professoris Dan Monah oblata*, Iași, 239-288.

LAZAROVICI 2009b Lazarovici, Gh., *Are the Tărtăria Tablets a „Enigma?"*, in: S. A. Luca (ed.), *The Danube Script*, Ed. Altip, Alba Iulia, 41-57.

LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2009 Lazarovici, C. M., Lazarovici, Gh., Țurcanu, S., Cucuteni. *A great civilisation of the prehistoric world*, Palatul Culturii Publishing House, Iași.

LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI, MERLINI 2011 Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., Merlini, M., *Tărtăria and the sacred tablets*, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca.

LUCA 1996 Luca, S. A., *Eine Rituelle Anlage in Turdaș Luncă, (Kreis Hunedoara)*, in: *Forschungen*, VL, 39, 1-2, 121-126.

LUCA 2015 Luca, S. A., *Viața trăită sub zei. Situl Starčevo-Criș I de la Cristian, județul Sibiu, România*, Studies into South-East European Prehistory II, Ed. Academiei Române - Ed. Karl A. Rostorfer, Suceava.

LUCA 2016 Luca, S. A., *Tărtăria Rediviva*, Ed. Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Ed. Altip, Alba Iulia.

LUCA, DRAGOMIR 1987 Luca, S. A., Dragomir, I., *Date cu privire la o statuetă inedită de la Liubcova-Ornița (jud. Caraș-Severin)*, in: *Banatica*, 9, 31-42.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

LUCA, DRAGOMIR 1989 Luca, S. A., Dragomir, I., *Die Statuette von Liubcova-Orniţa (Jud. Caraş-Severin)*, in: *Dacia*, S. N., XXXIII, 1-2, 229-233.

MAKKAY 1971 Makkay, J., *The chalcolithic male relief from Villánykövesd and the earliest male figurines in south-eastern Europe*, in: *Különlenyomat a Janus Pannonius Múzeum 13. (1968. évi) Évkönyvéből*, Pécs, 39-62.

MAKKAY 2005 Makkay, J., *Ein gründungsopfer der Tiszapolgár-Kultur von Vésztő-Mágor*, in: V. Spinei, C.-M. Lazarovici, D. Monah, (eds.), *Scripta praehistorica. Miscellanea in honorem nonagenarii magistri Mircea Petrescu-Dîmboviţa oblata*, Ed. Trinitas, 224-239.

MARINESCU-BÎLCU 1981 Marinescu-Bîlcu, S., *Tîrpeşti. From Prehistory to History in Eastern Romania*, BAR International Series 107, Oxford.

MARINESCU-BÎLCU, CÂRCIUMARU 1992 Marinescu-Bâlcu, S., Cârciumaru, M., *Coliere de Lithospermum purpureo-coeruleum şi "perle" de cerb în Neoliticul din România în contextul centrului şi sud-estului Europei*, in: *SCIVA*, XLIII, 4, 355-370.

MATTHEWS 1996 R. J. Matthews, *The excavation of Building 1, North Area*, in: *1995 Çatalhöyük Archive Report*, Çatalhöyük Research Project, online https://www.catalhoyuk.com/archive_reports/1995/.

MELLAART 1964 Mellaart, J., *Excavations at Çatal Hüyük, third preliminary report, 1963*, in: *Anatolian Studies*, 14, 40-113.

MELLAART 1975 Mellaart, J., *The Neolithic of the Near East*, Thames and Hudson, London.

MIHAI, BOGHIAN 1977-1979 Mihai, C., Boghian, D., *Complexul cututenian de cult descoperit la Buznea (oraşul Târgu Frumos), jud. Iaşi*, in: *MemAntiq*, 1977-1979, 429-452

MITHEN *et al.* 2011 Mithen, S. J., Finlayson, B., Smith, S., Jenkins, E., Najjar, M., Maricević, D., *An 11600 year-old communal structure from the Neolithic of southern Jordan*, in: *Antiquity*, 85, 350–364.

MONAH 1982 Monah, D., *O importantă descoperire arheologică*, in: *Arta*, 7-8, 11–13.

MONAH 1997 Monah, D., *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripolie*, Bibliotheca Memoriae Antiquitatis, III, Piatra Neamţ.

MONAH *et al.* 1983 Monah, D., Cucoş, Şt., Popovici, D., Antonescu, S., Dumitroaia, Gh., *Cercetările arheologice de la Poduri-Dealul Ghindaru*: in *CA*, vi, 3-22.

MONAH *et al.* 2003 Monah, D., Dumitroaia, Gh., Monah, F., Preoteasa, C., Munteanu, R., Nicola, D., *Poduri Dealul Ghindaru. O Troie în Subcarpaţii Moldovei*, Muzeul de Istorie Piatra Neamţ.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

NEAGOE 2011 Neagoe, M. I., *Despre idolii vinčieni de tip 'tesalic' descoperiți în teritoriul comunei Hinova, județul Mehedinți*, in: *Buletinul Muzeului Județean Teleorman. Seria Arheologie*, 3, 59-79.

NEAGU 2000 Neagu, M., *Comunitățile Boian-Giulești din Valea Dunării*, in: *Istros* X, 25-34.

NIKOLIĆ, VUKOVIĆ 2008 Nikolić, D., Vuković, J., *Vinča ritual vessels: Archaeological context and possible meaning*, in: *Starinar*, LVIII, 51-69.

NIȚU, ȘADURSCHI 1994 Nițu, A., Șadurschi, P., *Săpăturile de salvare de la „Stânca Doamnei", sat Stânca - Ștefănești, județul Botoșani*, in: *Hierasus*, IX, 181-193.

NODEX 2002 ****Noul dictionar explicativ al limbii române*, Ed. Litera International, București.

ÖZDOĞAN E. 2009 Özdoğan, E., *Settlement Organization and Architecture in Aşağı Pınar*, in: R. Krauß, (ed.), *Beginnings - New Research in the Appearance of the Neolithic between Northwest Anatolia and the Carpathian Basin*, 213-223.

PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA, FLORESCU, FLORESCU 1999 Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M., Florescu, M., Florescu, A. C., *Trușești, monografie arheologică,* Ed. Academiei Române, București-Iași.

PETRESCU-DÂMBOVIȚA, VĂLEANU 2004 Petrescu-Dâmbovița, M., Văleanu, M.-C., *Cucuteni-Cetățuie. Monografie arheologică*, Bibliotheca Memoriae Antiquitatis 14, Piatra Neamț.

PREOTEASA 2013 Preoteasa, C., *Rituri de fundare cucuteniene legate de sanctuarul cu etaj de la Poduri (județul Bacău)*, in: S. Forțiu, D. Micle (eds.), *Arheovest I. In Memoriam Liviu Măruia*, JATEPress Kiadó, Szeged, 91-114.

RAPPAPORT 1999 Rappaport, R. A., *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*, Cambridge University Press.

RUSSELL, MARTIN 1998 Russell, N., Martin, L., *Çatalhöyük Animal Bone Report*, in: *Çatalhöyük 1998 Archive Report*, Çatalhöyük Research Project.

SANEV 2006: Sanev, V., *Antropomorfic Cult plastic of Anzabegovo-Vršnik Cultural Group of the Republic of Macedonia*, in: N. Tasić, C. Grozdanov (eds.), *Homage to Milutin Garašanin*, Serbian Academy of Science and Arts-Macedonian Academy of Science and Arts, Belgrade, 171-191.

SCHIER, DRAȘOVEAN 2004-2005 Schier, W., Drașovean, F., *Masca rituală descoperită în tellul neolitic de la Uivar (jud. Timiș)*, in: *Analele Banatului*, S. N., XII-XIII, 41-48.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

TEŽAK-GREGL 2006 Težak-Gregl, T., *Study of the Neolithic and Eneolithic as reflected in articles published over the 50 years of the journal Opuscula archaeologica*, in: *Opuscula Archaeologica Radovi Arheološkog zavoda*, 30, 1, 93-122.

UCKO 1962 Ucko, P. J., *The Interpretation of Prehistoric Anthropomorphic Figurines*, in: *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 92, 1, 38-54.

URSACHI 1990 Ursachi, V., *Le dépôt d'objets de parure énéolithique de Brad, com. Negri, dép. de Bacău*, in: V. Chirica, D. Monah (eds.), *Le Paléolithique et le Néolithique de la Roumanie en contexte européen*, Bibliotheca Archeologica Iassiensis, IV, 335–386.

URSACHI 2010 Ursachi, V. *Cetatea dacică de la Brad în contextul culturii materiale și spirituale ale dacilor estcarpatici*, in: *Angvstia*, 14, 299-318.

URSULESCU 2012 Ursulescu, N., *Impactul interacțiunii cu mediul asupra comportamentului spiritual al omului preistoric*, in: *MemAntiq*, XXVIII, 31-38.

URSULESCU, TENCARIU 2006 Ursulescu, N., Tencariu, F., *Religie și magie la est de Carpați acum 7000 de ani. Tezaurul cu obiecte de cult de la Isaiia*, Ed. Demiurg, Iași.

VERPOORTE 2001 Verpoorte, A., *Places of art, traces of fire. A contextual approach to anthropomorphic figurines in the Pavlovian*, Archaeological Studies Leiden University, Leiden.

VIDEIKO 2015 Videiko, M., *Symbols and signs at Nebelivka temple*, presentation at: *International Symposium From Symbols to Signs. Signs, Symbols, Rituals in sanctuaries In the memory of Henrieta Todorova Suceava*, Romania, 11-13 September 2015.

VULCĂNESCU 1987 Vulcănescu, R., *Mitologia română*, Ed. Academiei, București.

VULPE 1941 Vulpe, R., *Les fouilles de Calu*, in: *Dacia*, VII-VIII, 13-68.

YARTAH 2005 Yartah, T., *Les bâtiments communautaires de Tell 'Abr 3 (PPNA, Syrie)*, in: *Neo-Lithics*. The Newsletter of Southwest Asian Neolithic Research, 1/05, 3-9.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

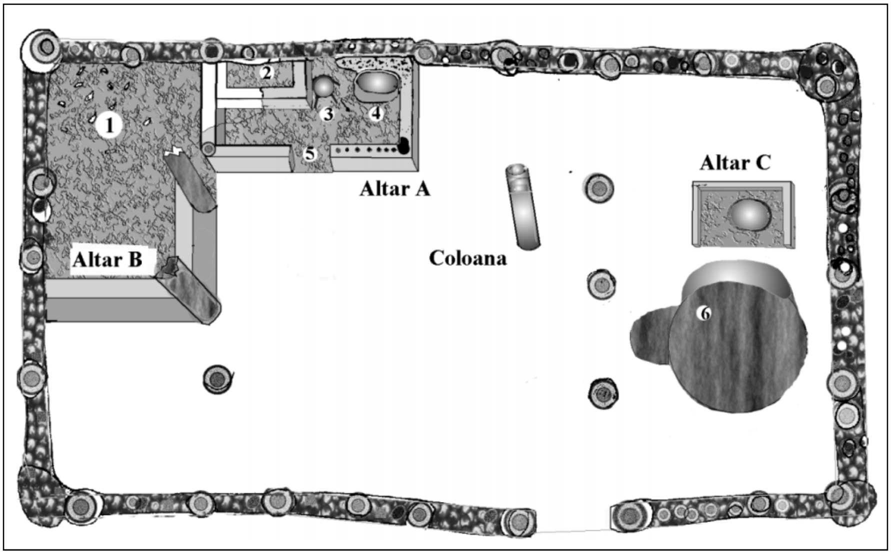


Fig. 1. Parţa. Temple 1 – plan of the building (LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2001: 204, fig. 165).

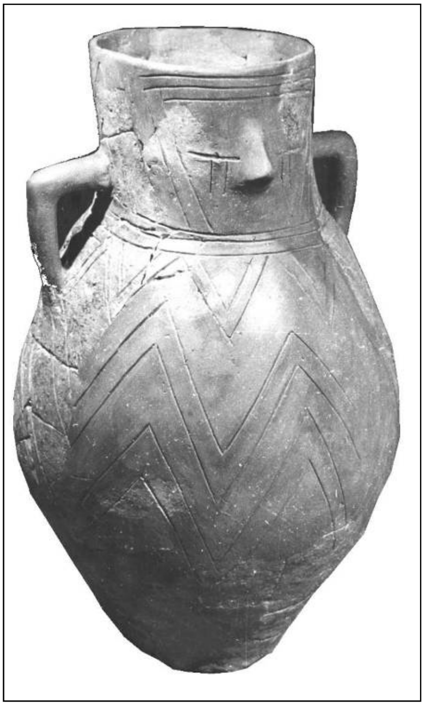


Fig. 2. Parţa. Temple 1. Deposition of an anthropomorphic vessel at the entrance (LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2006: 306, Fig.IIIb.120).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

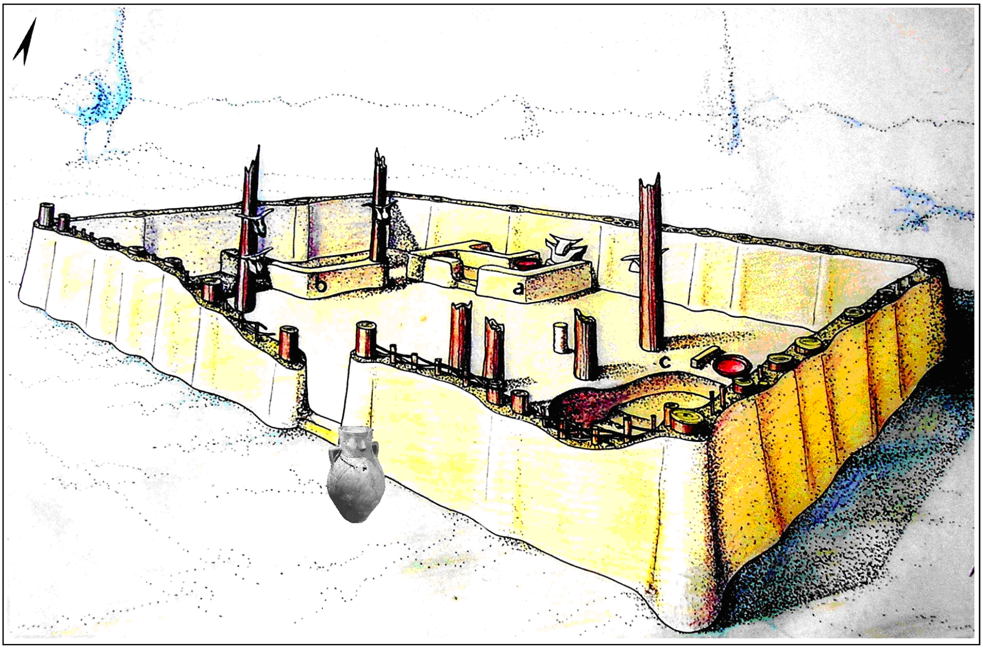


Fig. 3. Parţa. Temple 1 – graphic reconstruction (LAZAROVICI *et al*. 2001: 205, fig. 166)

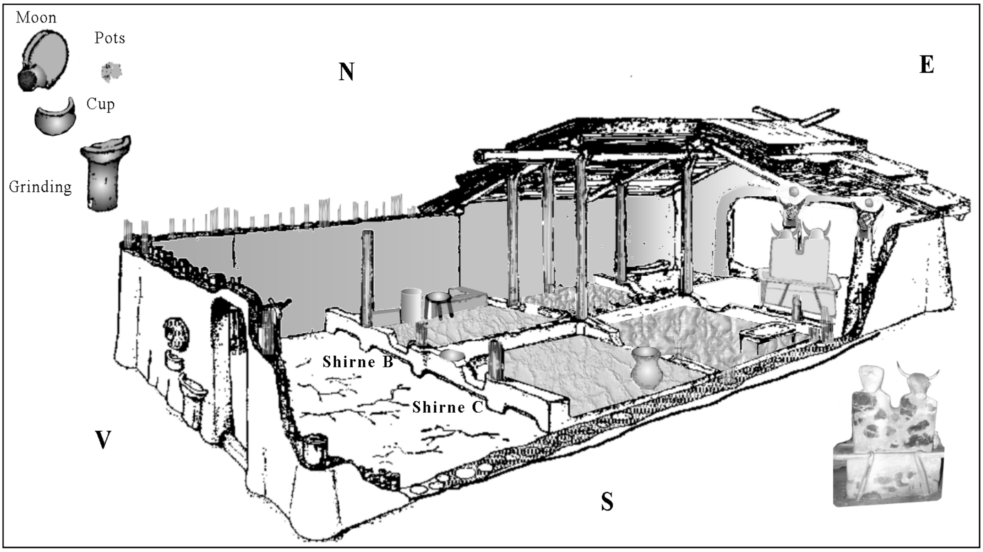


Fig. 4. Parţa. Temple 2 - view from the west, early stage, graphic reconstruction (LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2006: 228, fig. IIIb.157)

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Fig. 5. Gomolava – Hrtkovci, loom from Vinča house 6/1980, 5th millennium BC, ideal reconstruction (JOVANOVIĆ 2011: 30, fig. 9).

Fig. 6. The mask from Uivar (Direction for Culture Timiș-„Evenings of the Heritage" poster event, 28.06.2018).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Fig. 7. The statuette with mask and askos from Liubcova
(SCHIER, DRAŞOVEAN 2004-2005: 56, fig. 7).

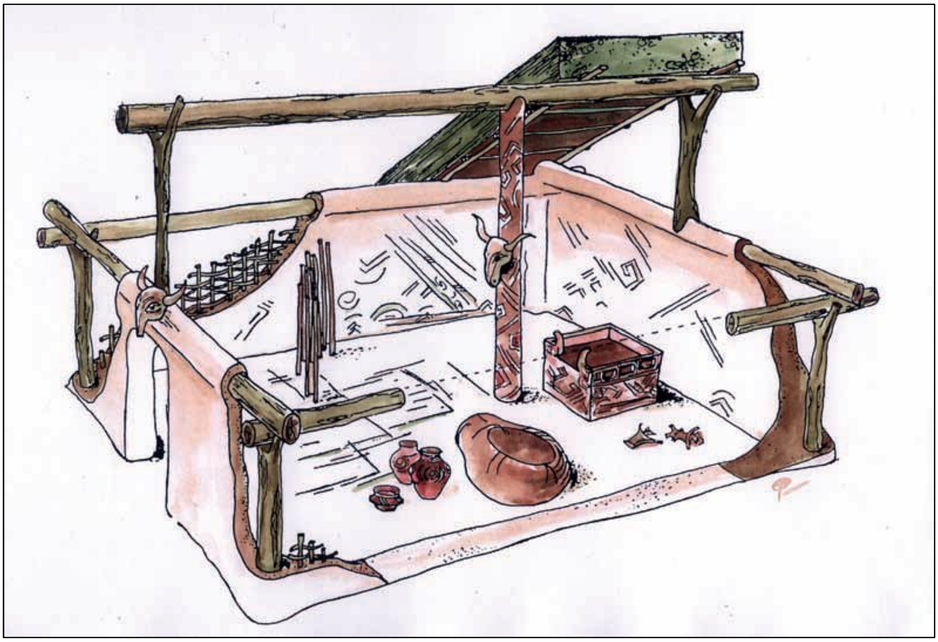


Fig. 8. Kormadin. Sanctuary 1, graphic reconstruction (JOVANOVIĆ 2011: 36, fig. 13).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

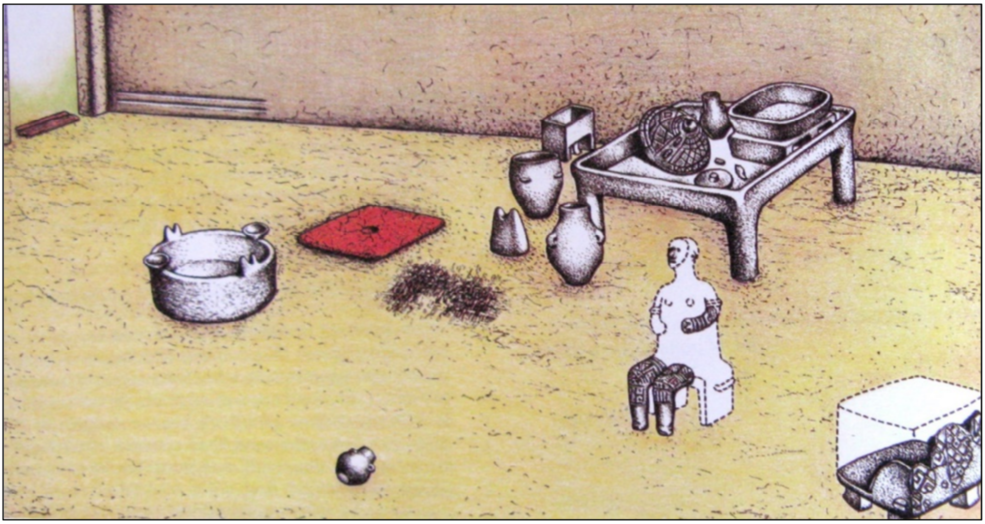


Fig. 9. Véstő-Mágor. The interior of the sanctuary – graphic reconstruction (HEGEDŰS, MAKKAY 1987: 87, fig. 4).

Fig. 10. „Sacrificed" bovine figurines with flint discovered at 'Ain Ghazal (BANNING 2003: 18).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

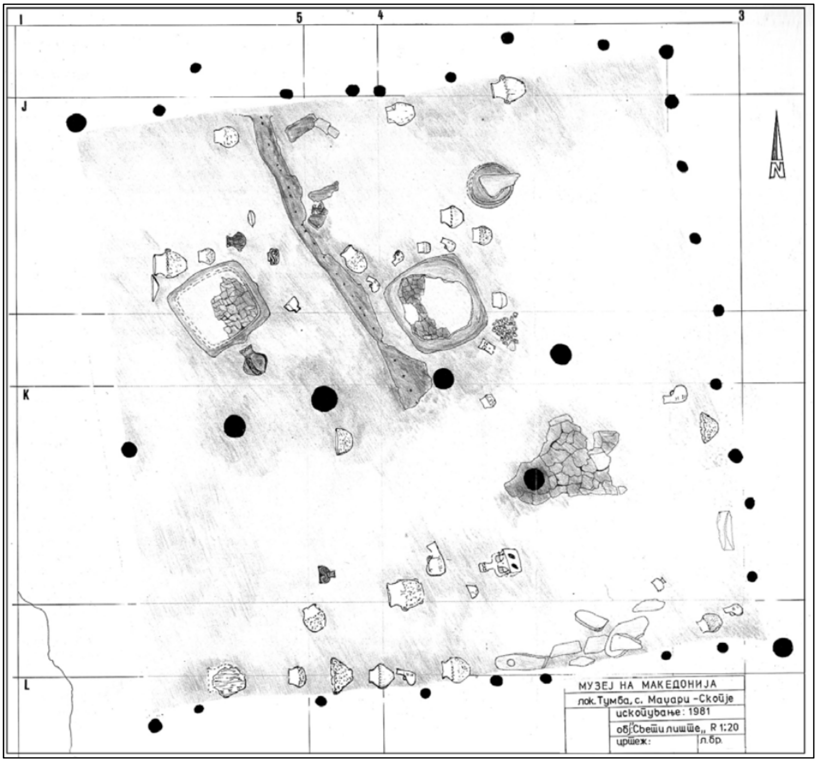


Fig. 11. Tumba Madžari. Plan of the sanctuary (NAUMOV 2011: 13, fig. 1/b).

Fig. 12. Vounas. Model with sacrifices (KARAGEORGHIS 1976: 106, 71).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Fig. 13. Kotchati. Model with offerings (KARAGEORGHIS 1976: 106, 71).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Fig. 14. Vinča. The cultic „Hyde Vessel" (NIKOLIĆ, VUKOVIĆ 2008: 52, fig. 1).

Fig. 15. Porodin: House model with statuette on top (NASTEVA 2007: 59, fig. 43)

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Fig. 16. Vorniceni, Botoșani County. Feminine statuette in "vessel with threshold" (KOVÁCS 2016a: 108, fig. 46).

Fig. 17. The double statue from Temple 2 in Parța, Timiș County (photo Gheorghe Lazarovici).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Early Late Iron Age hillforts in the East Carpathian regions of Romania. Trade and connectivity with neighboring areas

ALEXANDRU BERZOVAN*

Abstract: During the 5th and 3rd centuries BC period, a significant number of hillforts were built in the space between the Carpathians and the Dniester. Through this study, we shall discuss, synthetically, the data we have regarding the relations that the inhabitants of these hillforts had with other populations and more or less distant cultural areas, reflected by imports and other categories of archaeological materials. Of special interest are the connections with the Greek and Mediterranean world, attested by significant amounts of materials, especially amphorae. The connection with the world of the steppes is reflected especially in the military gear (the adoption of the so-called „Scythian-type" bronze arrowheads). There is also visible connection with the La Tène cultures from central Europe, reflected in a number of brooch finds from the hillfort of Bunești; less clear are the connections with the northern areas.

***Keywords**: Late Iron Age; hillforts; trade connections; Greek and Hellenistic Amphorae; glass eye-beads; Scythians; La Tène culture.*

1. Introduction

During the 5th and 3rd centuries BC period, a significant number of fortresses were built in the space between the Carpathians and the Dniester[1].

* Iași Institute of Archaeology, berzovanalexandru@gmail.com. This work was possible through a grant from the Ministry of Education and Research, CNCS - UEFISCDI, in the project *At the borders of the Great Steppe. Topography and archaeology of Late Iron Age forts from the East Carpathian Region (5th - 3rd centuries BC)*, code PN-III-P1-1.1-PD-2019-0703, from PNCDI III.

1 ZANOCI 1998; ARNĂUT 2003; HAHEU 2008.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

According to some estimates, around 130 such hillforts are known so far, most of them documented between the Prut and the Dniester. In the space between the Carpathians and the Prut, nowadays on the territory of Romania, 37 objectives are currently known[2]. Out of 37 hillforts, archaeological researches of larger amplitude were made only in five sites: at Stâncești (around 5% of entire surface), Cotu - Copălău (around 10%), Cotnari - *Enclosure A* (around 15%), Bunești (60%), Cândești (unpublished). More hillforts benefited only from small - scale investigations, of limited amplitude (Albești, Ibănești, Merești, Dochia, Dobrovăț, Poiana Mănăstirii, Bazga, Moșna, Arsura, Brăhășești, Fedești) while other objectives are known only through field surveys.

Through this study, we shall discuss, synthetically, the data we have regarding the relations that the inhabitants of these hillforts had with other populations and more or less distant cultural areas, reflected by imports and other categories of archaeological materials.

2. Trade and connectivity with the Greek and Mediterranean world

The Greek colonization of the northern Black Sea began during the 7th century BC, but it is assumed that sailors coming from the Mediterranean were already crossing the waters of this sea since prehistory[3]. Phoenicians and Carians were, apparently, the earliest historical explorers[4], while the first Greeks, according to scholars, seem to have been the Euboeans[5]. It is true that the literary and archaeological data for these early contacts is at this moment rather ambiguous, but the echoes of these ancient expeditions in uncharted waters, marked with all kinds of perils, have been preserved in the form of myths such as those about the island of Achilles, the exploits of Hercules in Scythia, the expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis, the fights against the Amazons and Centaurs and many others.

---

2 BERZOVAN 2022.

3 PEEV 2005: 217-222.

4 COJOCARU 2004: 70.

5 ALEXANDRESCU 1990; COJOCARU 2004: 70.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The establishment of the Greek colonies on the northwestern shores of the Black Sea marked the entry into history of these lands. The colonization represented a gradual process extended over a few centuries. Most of the Greek colonies proved durable, resisting in time until the Roman period. Histria was founded in the middle of the 7th century BC[6]; Argamum, also in the middle of the 7th century BC[7]; Tyras probably in the 6th century BC[8]; Nikonion in the second half of the 6th century BC[9]; Olbia in the second quarter of the 6th century BC[10], Callatis at the end of the 5th century BC[11].

The contact with the refined Greek civilization could not leave the locals indifferent. Equally, for the incoming southern merchants, the "wild" lands on the northwestern banks of the Black Sea offered a wealth of potential goods: slaves, salt, wheat, wood, honey, animal furs[12], as well as good conditions for agriculture, much better than in the rocky and dry islands of the Aegean. Moreover, the Greeks soon realized that the locals "*were not ferocious barbarians, but fairly civilized people, who had a taste for the products of Asia Minor and were ready to trade*"[13]. It was of no surprise that during the 5th-3rd centuries BC, the Greek colonies were the main vector through which goods, ideas and concepts specific to the more developed Mediterranean world entered the world of sedentary and nomadic tribes living north of the Danube and east of the Carpathians. The increase of the

---

6 COJOCARU 2004: 85-86 with bibliography.

7 LUNGU 2001: 172.

8 See the discussion in COJOCARU 2004: 101.

9 COJOCARU 2004: 102-103. For a detailed bibliography on the finds of Nikonion and Tyras, see BCOSPE I 2014: 65-86; BCOSPE II 2018: 57-94; BCOSPE III 2019: 134 – 143.

10 COJOCARU 2004: 91.

11 For the founding of Callatis see ALEXANDRU 2011: 85, with references to older bibliography.

12 For Scythia at least, some authors consider that slaves were the most sought-after commodity by the Greek merchants. According to N. Gavriljuk "*On the other hand, trade between Greeks and Scythians was undoubtedly of a large-scale character, as indicated by the discovery of large quantities of Greek products, even in remote part of Scythia. But since trade implies counter-goods of equivalent value, we may suppose that the most important exports from barbarian countries were energy resources in the form of slaves*" (GAVRILJUK 2003: 77). For the problem of "Getae" slaves, see HIND 1994: 153-158; considering this information, it is likely that one of the main products exchanged by the hillfort builders with the Greeks could had been slaves.

13 ROSTOVTZEEF 1922: 61-62.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

power of the Bosporan kingdom in Crimea, but also the consolidation of the Odrisian kingdom to the south of the Danube, followed by the rise of Macedon, further consolidated these tendencies.

The penetration of Greek goods starting in the 6th century BC in distant hillforts such as Stâncești and even further north and east[14], to areas located many hundreds of kilometers away from the shores of the Black Sea and the colonies, raises a number of questions. Were these products brought by the Greeks themselves, or were they redistributed from one local community to another? Of course, we cannot give definite answers at this stage of the research and arguments could be given for or against each of these hypotheses. What is certain is that some categories of goods, such as amphorae, are quite difficult to handle and transport, implying the existence of more or less specialized groups (be it Greek, local, or mixed). These could have been brought on several routes, both on rivers (Prut, Siret) and on land. In this regard, the passage from the Histories of Herodotus in which we are told that the Prut River is known by the Scythians as *Porata* and by the Greeks as *Pyretus*[15] holds a certain significance. That the Greeks informing Herodotus had *a name of their own* for this river indicates a certain degree of familiarity with the local geography. The idea of Greek trading ships ascending the Danube and then on the lower reaches of its main tributaries can be seen as a plausible hypothesis, all the more so as the lower courses of the Prut and Siret did not have strong currents or cataracts.

The greatest part of the imports from the Greek world in the hillforts from the east Carpathian area of Romania seem to have consisted of perishable goods, such as wine. Numerous fragments of amphorae of various types, found in variable numbers in many of the sites, from the extreme north to the southernmost ones, bear witness to this[16]. We will briefly present them in the following, and after we shall discuss other categories of materials.

---

[14] Greek amphorae had been entering at least as far north-east as the hillfort of Chotyniec (south-eastern extremity of Poland), see CZOPEK 2019; TRYBALA-ZAWISLAK 2020.

[15] Herodotus, *Histories*, IV, 48.

[16] For a theoretical discussion on the limitations in interpreting the amphoristic material, see VICKERS 2019.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

2.1. Greek and Hellenistic Amphorae

Among the archeologically investigated hillforts, there is almost no site in which fragments of Greek amphorae have not been reported. However, we have to say from the onset that, at this moment, their number is not very large. If in the Prut-Dniester area, in the fortress of Butuceni for example, the Greek material represents almost 22% of the total pottery[17], in the hillforts west of Prut analyzed by us the percentage is much lower, below 1-2% or even less. The preserved stamps are few, so the framing was often based on shards, some quite small, which did not allow the discussion of detailed typologies. Some of the determinations were taken from the literature, in other cases they were made by our colleague Dr. Honcu Ștefan (Iași Institute of Archaeology), whom we offer our thanks.

2.1.1. Amphorae from Aegean centers

A. Chios (Fig. 1)

The island of Chios was among the most famous wine-producing centers of Greek and Hellenistic times. In our area of interest, amphorae of this type appeared from the 6th-5th centuries BC until the beginning of the 3rd century BC[18]. Specimens with a swollen neck are specific for the earliest period; one such artefact was discovered in the fortress of Stâncești. Fragments of Chios amphorae were also noticed in the hillfort of Cotu - Copălău[19] and in the one from Poiana Mănăstirii[20] (from the 4th century BC).

Their rarity can be explained not only as a result of the research stage, but also due to their price. It is important to consider the often quite prohibitive price of such containers. In Athens, for example, an amphora of Chios costed 100 drachmas, while the price of an ox was 60. Certainly here, outside the Mediterranean world, given the difficulties of transportation, the price would have been even higher and these items were not available to everyone[21].

17 NICULIȚĂ, TEODOR, ZANOCI 2002: 53.
18 MATEEVICI 2007: 34.
19 ȘOVAN, IGNAT 2005: 47.
20 BERZOVAN 2016: 220-221.
21 MATEEVICI 2007: 107.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

B. Kos

The island of Kos is located near Rhodes, near the western coast of Asia Minor. The wine produced here was considered generally to be of a lower quality compared to that of Rhodes, Thassos or Chios, being poorly represented in the northwestern Pontic area[22], where they appear at the end of the 4th century BC. In our area of interest, fragments of Kos amphorae have been attested so far only in the Cotnari – *Cătălina* and Bunești hillforts[23].

C. Knidos

Knidos was a Greek city on the southwest coast of Asia Minor in Caria. The climate favored the production of aromatic wines that were appreciated in ancient times. The amphorae from Knidos appeared in the northwestern part of the Black Sea during the second quarter of the 4th century BC[24]. In our area of interest, fragments from such an amphora were found in the Cotu - Copălău hillfort[25].

D. Rhodes (Fig. 2).

The island of Rhodes is located in the Aegean Sea, not far from the coast of Asia Minor. Due to its favorable position, it played an important economic, political and military role in the Greek and Hellenistic period. Rhodian amphorae have been entering the northwestern Pontic area at the end of the 4th century BC[26], being well attested. So far, they have been found in the hillforts of Arsura, Cotnari - *Cătălina*[27], Cotu – Copălău[28]; Moșna and Poiana Mănăstirii[29].

E. Thasos (Fig. 3)

Thasos island is located in the northern parts of the Aegean Sea, about 8 km from the coast of Thrace. The Thasos amphorae appear in the north-western Pontic Areas during the 5th century BC. Thasos is one of the

---

22 MATEEVICI 2007: 31-32.
23 SÎRBU 1983: 46.
24 MATEEVICI 2007: 30-31.
25 ȘOVAN, IGNAT 2005: 47.
26 MATEEVICI 2007: 46.
27 SÎRBU 1983: 48.
28 ȘOVAN, IGNAT 2005: 47.
29 BERZOVAN 2016: 220-221; BERZOVAN, ENEA, BOGHIAN 2020: 47.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

best attested centers in the area between the Carpathians and the Bug River[30]. Thasos wine was considered to be of superior quality, appreciated by the aristocracy of sedentary populations living in the northwestern Pontic area[31]. Early variants of this product (5th century BC) are attested only at Stâncești hillfort. Later variants (4th – 3rd centuries BC) appear in Albești[32], Bunești, Cotnari -*Cătălina*, Cotu-Copălău[33], Fedești and Poiana Mănăstirii[34] hillforts.

F. Mende

Mende was an ancient Greek city located on the western coast of the Pallene peninsula in Chalkidiki, on the northern shores of the Aegean Sea, facing the coast of Pieria, near the modern town of Kallandra. Mende wine has been brought in the northwestern Black Sea area since the 5th century BC, but in small quantities, and it disappeared completely from the market in the last quarter of the 4th century BC. In our area of interest, there is only one artefact of this type in the Cotu – Copălău hillfort[35].

2.1.2. Amphorae from Pontic centers

A. Tauric Chersonesos

The ancient city, located in the southwestern part of the Crimean Peninsula, was founded in the 6th century BC by Greek settlers coming across the sea from Heraclea Pontica. The center began exporting wine to neighboring regions in the third quarter of the 4th century BC. Their number is not large. In the hillfort of Bunești, two complete amphorae were reported, one of them having a stamp with the name of the magistrate ๑๑๑๑๑ on the handle, indicating a date between the years 300-280 BC. Another such amphora was discovered in the Cotnari – *Cătălina* hillfort, dated between the end of the 4th – middle of the 3rd century BC[36].

---

[30] MATEEVICI 2007: 65.
[31] MATEEVICI 2007: 117.
[32] Fragment discovered during our researches carried out in 2021.
[33] ȘOVAN, IGNAT 2005: 47.
[34] BERZOVAN 2016: 220-221; BERZOVAN, ENEA, BOGHIAN 2020: 46.
[35] MATEEVICI 2007: 88.
[36] MATEEVICI 2007: 91-92.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

B. Heracleea Pontica (Fig. 4)

Heraclea Pontica was an ancient city on the coast of Bithynia in Asia Minor, on the south-western shores of the Black Sea. It was founded by the Greek city state of Megara, around 560-558 BC. In the Eastern Carpathian area, this type of amphorae appears since the first quarter of the 4th century BC, being a well-represented one[37]. The large number of these amphorae is due, perhaps, to the rather low transport capacity of these containers, which ranged from 7 to 9 liters[38]. Their large number can also be explained by the fact that they mimicked quite well the shape of Thasos amphorae. In the context in which, as mentioned above, the wine from this Aegean center was very popular, the centers from Heraclea or Sinope copied the shape of the vessel. Heraclean amphorae were found at Bunești[39], Cotnari – *Cătălina*, Cotu – Copălău[40], Dobrovăț[41], Fedești[42], Poiana Mănăstirii[43] and Stâncești hillforts.

C. Sinope

Sinope was an ancient Greek city founded in the 7th century BC by colonists coming from Miletus, on the southern shore of the Black Sea in ancient Paphlagonia. Between the 4th and 2nd centuries BC, the city became one of the major exporters of wine, olive oil and salted fish. In our area of interest, fragments of Sinope amphorae had been found at Bunești, Cotu – Copălău[44], Fedești[45] and Poiana Mănăstirii hillforts[46].

2.2. Other categories of materials

In addition to amphorae - brought for their content - other ceramic vessels were also imported from the Greek world. The existence of fragments

---

37 MATEEVICI 2007: 72.

38 See the discussions in MATEEVICI 2007: 40-41.

39 BAZARCIUC 1983: 25.

40 ȘOVAN, IGNAT 2005: 47.

41 Unpublished, from old field surveys made by M. Tanasachi and V. Chirica in 1983 (collections of Iași Institute of Archaeology). During our archaeological campaigns in the hillfort from Cetățuia in 2019 and 2021, we found no fragments of Greek amphorae.

42 SÎRBU 1983: 48.

43 BERZOVAN 2016: 220-221; BERZOVAN, ENEA, BOGHIAN 2020: 47-48.

44 ȘOVAN, IGNAT 2005: 47.

45 SÎRBU 1983: 48.

46 BERZOVAN 2016: 220-221.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

of luxury Greek pottery is reported in several of the researched sites. Unfortunately, this is often a fragmented vessel. In the hillfort of Cotu - Copălău, fragments of a *kantharos* with black furnish are attested, unfortunately too small to be able to frame them typologically precisely[47]. In Stâncești hillfort, several fragments from an *oneochoe* were reported; it is difficult to tell if we are dealing with the remains of an import or a well-made imitation. In Cotu – Copălău as well, brown fragments with furnish were reported, probably from *kantharoi*, and some other shards that could have come from a *kylyx* and *lebes*[48]. In the hillfort of Cotnari - *Cătălina* we do not have attested so far luxury Greek pottery, but the presence of a local handmade imitation of *kantharos*, indicated that they probably existed. More numerous and representative are discoveries in the fortress of Bunești. Here was reported a *kantharos* with black furnish on the outside, decorated with palmettos, an *oenochoe*, *askos*, miniature amphorae and a Hellenistic plate with dark red glaze[49]. A fragmentary terracotta statuette (Tanagra?) was discovered in the Bunești hillfort. It is possible that an analysis of the entire material discovered at Bunești would bring to light more fragments of Greek ceramic vessels.

Overall, imports of luxury Greek pottery are surprisingly small compared to the much larger number of amphorae, a fact also observed for the Prut-Dniester area. This situation can have multiple explanations: it can be either a stage of research, but more likely it might reflect a lack of interest of the local population for this type of products. In general, the use of a certain type of pottery correlates with certain table, culinary or convivial traditions; even if the Greek or Hellenistic influence in the Eastern Carpathian space at the level of the 5th-3rd centuries BC cannot be neglected, it does not seem to have impacted strongly on the local society, which remained more or less "loyal" to its Iron Age heritage[50].

---

47 ȘOVAN, IGNAT 2005: 46-48.

48 FLORESCU, FLORESCU 2005: 93-94.

49 BAZARCIUC 1980: 69, Fig 10/1; MĂNDESCU 2010: Cat: 38.

50 The situation is not unexpected. Equally rare is the presence of luxury Greek pottery in the intra-Carpathian area, at the level of the 3rd century BC. relatively few discoveries being known. It is assumed that these pieces were transported through the area of Moldova (RUSTOIU 2011: 94). As one gets further and further away from the Greek Colonies, the quantity of Greek pottery in the local assemblages decreases exponentially.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Another category of artefacts imported (most likely) from the Greek world is glass beads (**Fig. 5**). There is almost no excavated archeological site or fortification from the period where they do not appear, regardless of whether they are single pieces or "strings". The glass beads with "eyes" are also widely attested in the East-Carpathian area[51] during the 5th - 3rd centuries BC at Bunești[52], Poiana Mănăstirii[53], Stâncești[54], Cotu-Copălău[55], Murgeni[56], Dobrovăț[57] hillforts. Besides their unquestionable aesthetic aspects, these items could also have been cherished for their apotropaic role; such functions are demonstrated for the eye-beads found in the Pontic Greek area[58], but also other zones[59]. Even in the present day, in Greece and Levant, very similar objects are used as protection against the "evil eye"[60].

3. Trade and connectivity with the Eurasian Steppes

The problem of the relations existing between the builders of the hillforts and the world of the steppes is vast and complex. It is difficult to speak of clear and well defined borders between the "Getae" and "Scythian" cultures, as there were areas of interference (such as the Bugeac or the Bărăgan). Moreover, we should not forget that before the hillfort horizon (5th - 3rd century BC), at the level of the 7th-6th centuries BC, in the East Carpathian area, groups of populations with North-Pontic origins were also active. In these conditions it becomes obvious that direct contact with the "Scythians" (and other related groups) in this area lasted for at least four centuries (if not longer). And there are other arguments beyond the realm of archaeology that plead for intense contacts with the world of the Iranian nomads: a part of the

51 ZANOCI 1998: 88; ARNĂUT 2003: 136.
52 BAZARCIUC 1979: 34.
53 BERZOVAN 2016: 220.
54 See the discussion in BERZOVAN 2018: 232.
55 Unpublished, in the collections of Botoșani County Museum.
56 RAJ VASLUI 1980: 129.
57 RAJ IAȘI 1984: 126.
58 DZNELADZE, SYMONENKO 2010: 204.
59 PEREGO 2010: 75.
60 DUNDES 1992; YOLERI *et al.* 2006: 104-113.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

river names mentioned by Herodotus and located roughly in the East Carpathian Area present plausible Iranic etymologies[61].

It would be a mistake to assume that the relations between the locals and "Scythians" were reduced exclusively to military conflicts, of varying scale and intensity. But denying their existence would be equally wrong; for better or worse, these conflicts are attested in the few written sources available for our region and timeframe. Without entering too much on the realm of speculations, we might assume that, like in many other cases in history, relations between incoming nomads and sedentary populations could most likely have been of greater complexity, implying not just conflict, cooperation or commerce but also tributary systems, passage rights, trading rights, grazing rights, etc.

In almost all the hillforts that have been archeologically investigated or have benefited from more extensive field surveys, "Scythian" type bronze arrowheads have been reported, often in significant quantities. The presence of these artifacts in features (pits, houses)[62], but also as in unfortified settlements or necropolises[63], shows us beyond doubt that they were adopted and completely integrated in the "arsenal" of the local populations. Since bronze deposits are missing in the area between the Siret and the Dniester - the area of maximum concentration of hillforts - questions arise regarding the origin of the raw material for the realization of these weapons. Unfortunately, due to a lack of metallographic analyzes, no answer can be given at this moment.

Worth noting is that so far, no Scythian bronze-cauldron or akinakai had been found in any of the analyzed hillforts.

The hoard found in the Stâncești hillfort - of certain Scythian origin[64] - can be seen as a special case, but on the other hand the presence of harness pieces with analogies in the North Pontic space, as well as the fashion of horse ornamentation, suggested by some of the items from the Cucuteni - Băiceni hoard, indicate an ideology specific to the world of eastern nomads.

---

61 See the discussion in BERZOVAN 2022: 248, with the bibliography.

62 Plenty of examples in FLORESCU, FLORESCU 2005.

63 BUZDUGAN 1968; BERZOVAN, SIMALCSIK, KOVACS 2020.

64 BERZOVAN 2016a; BERZOVAN 2018b and BERZOVAN 2020 with bibliography;

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

It would seem at first sight that the archaeologically detectable Scythian influence is visible especially in the equipment of horsemen and in the adoption of certain types of military equipment. Undoubtedly, the military ideology of the dreaded steppe warriors could not fail to leave its profound mark on the local horseman.

4. Trade and connectivity with the La Tène "Celtic" cultures

From 350 BC, Celtic groups entered and settled in the intra-Carpathian area, and at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, large swaths of territories in the northern Balkan region were overrun by Celts, generating, in certain areas, significant ethno-cultural and social changes. It is also admitted that the migration of the bearers of the Poienești - Lucașeuca culture, from the last quarter of the 3rd century BC, which eventually lead to the end of the hillfort horizon in the East-Carpathian area, could have involved Celtic groups. In this context, contacts between the builders of the Eastern Carpathian fortresses and the Celtic groups could have lasted approx. 120-130 years.

The problem of La Tène Celtic influence in the Carpathian-Danubian area has been treated in a large number of specialized works[65]. The issue of Celtic influences and possible presences from the East Carpathian area was not neglected either[66]. It is interesting to note that in the hillforts located between the Carpathians and the Prut, La Tène materials were found so far only at Bunești; for comparison, in the Prut-Dniester area, such vestiges were discovered in several fortifications[67].

---

[65] We should add that the way this problem was analyzed in Romanian archaeology varied significantly from one historiographical period to another, in some moments being visible a tendency to *minimize*, in others on the contrary, to *exaggerate* the role and impact of these populations in the Carpathian-Danubian areas. The causes are diverse and complex.

[66] BABEȘ 1985: 193; TEODOR 1988: 33-51; RUSTOIU 2020: 155-168. Certain discoveries such as those from Glăvăneștii de Jos (Iași County) or Horodiștea (Botoșani County) could indicate, for the area of the Jijia Plain and the north of Moldova, a Celtic penetration prior to the arrival of the Poienești - Lucașeuca (MĂNDESCU 2010: 65-66). However, since these are *isolated and disparate discoveries*, it is difficult at the moment to speak here of a Celtic horizon, and the above mentioned finds can be explained in many other ways.

[67] For example, La Tène type brooches were discovered in Mana III, Rudi - *La Șanțuri*, Saharna Mare, Saharna Mică and Stroiești hillforts (see MUNTEANU, BĂȚ, ZANOCI 2020).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

As for the types of "Celtic" artifacts present, the brooches certainly predominate (**Fig. 7**). La Tène B2 (seven artefacts) and La Tène C type (one artefacts) brooches were discovered in Bunești hillfort, indicating intensive contacts. To these we can add a set fragment from a La Tène sword scabbard. Not coincidentally, in the same fortress, the decoration of one of the Thracian-type brooches discovered in *Treasure 1* bears striking resemblance to the decoration specific to some of the Dux-type brooches specific to the La Tène B1 phase. This "hybrid" product (**Fig. 8**) - a local form with specific La Tène ornamentation - further illustrates the intensity of contacts with the "Celtic" world[68].

The discoveries are so far meager, but this situation reflects a simple stage of research, and it is likely that future investigations might change this preliminary picture. The iron bar deposits from Negri[69] (Bacău County) and Oniceni[70] (Neamț County) indicate the existence of some exchanges of raw materials; the distribution area of *Huși - Vovriești* coins, likely minted somewhere in the East Carpathian area from the middle of the 3rd century BC[71] indicates contacts with the area west of the Carpathians, as far as the Scordiscian area[72].

5. Trade and connectivity with the northern areas

The issue of possible relations and connections of the East Carpathian hillfort cluster with the northern regions - not just Northern Bukovina, but also the Podolian and Volhynian regions - has generally received little attention. The connections between the bearers of the late and post-Chernoles culture and the local groups in the Carpatho-Dniester area are a subject that up to this moment was almost completely eluded by Romanian historiography and unfortunately hardly discussed by colleagues in Ukraine or Moldova[73].

---

68 SPÂNU 2013: 151-152.

69 RUSTOIU 2020: 158.

70 RUSTOIU 2020: 158.

71 See the discussion with bibliography in MIHĂILESCU - BÎRLIBA 1990: 71-74; MUNTEANU, CHIRIAC 2016: 549-551; BERZOVAN 2022:

72 RUSTOIU, FERENCZ 2017: 350.

73 The situation can have multiple explanations, related mostly to the current stage of research. Starting joint Romanian-Ukrainian-Moldavian archaeological and research

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

For the Northern Bukovina area, the late Hallstattian cultural horizon (late Gava and Chernoles cultures) is overlapped starting from the late 8th century BC by the so-called West Podolian group, of steppic influence[74]. But the chronological horizon between the latest manifestations of this group, dated to the 5th century BC and the appearance of the bearers of the Poienești - Lucașeuca culture in late 3rd century BC -corresponding to the period of maximum flowering of the hillforts between the Carpathians and the Dniester - is at this moment very little known[75].

In the hillfort of Stâncești, as well as in the one from Cotu - Copălău, handmade ceramic fragments were reported, decorated with an alveolar girdle doubled by a row of stitches (**Fig. 9**)[76]. This type of ornamentation is specific to the Hallstatt cultures of the Ukrainian forest-steppe, corresponding to the late stage of the Chernoles culture and to the subsequent Western Podolian Group. This type of pottery appears as far north-east as Chotyniec hillfort in south-eastern Poland[77]. The modest quality of these ceramic vessels makes the import hypothesis unlikely. It is interesting to note that ceramic vessel fragments of similar type are reported in a larger number of settlements from the east Carpathian area, reaching as far as the lower Danube area[78], indicating the existence, at least during the 6th century BC, of a certain mobility in the forest-steppe communities, likely under Scythian impulse.

Can we talk about trade relations between the East-Carpathian hillfort builders and the bearers of the Poienești - Lucașeuca culture, prior to their establishment in the East Carpathian area? It is true that in forts such as Moşna, Arsura or Poiana Mănăstirii we find Poienești - Lucașeuca type pottery. But we must keep in mind that so far we are dealing with an

projects could bring to light necessary answers and solve at least some problems related to the history and prehistory of the Carpathian-Dniestrian space. Unfortunately, at the time of writing this paper, Ukraine is facing a harsh political and military situation, and thus prospects for such future cooperation projects remain unclear.

74 For a more extensive discussion on the archaeological situation in this area, see CZOPEK 2020.

75 See the chronological table in ІЛЬКІВ 2020: 19.

76 BERZOVAN 2018a.

77 CZOPEK 2019: 132, 137.

78 БРУЯКО 2005: 151.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

archaeological material recovered either as a result of surface research or from the culture layer, thus we cannot know whether the artefacts reached those points in a time when the hillforts still functioned or if rather they belong to a small-scale Poienești - Lucașeuca settlement built after the destruction or abandonment of the fortifications.

A special situation is raised by the burnt clay spoons (**Fig. 10**), considered to be one of the artifacts specific to the Poienești -Lucașeuca culture[79]. They were reported both in Arsura and at Stâncești hillforts (but without an archaeological context)[80]. If in Arsura there are other ceramic fragments belonging to this culture, for the time being in Stâncești, in all the materials analyzed until the date of writing these lines, we did not notice ceramic fragments of Poienești–Lucașeuca type.

6. Long – range connections?

The presence of certain categories of artifacts - especially in the fortress of Bunești - raises the issue of long-distance commercial connections. The presence in the third hoard of Kauri shells – specific to the Indian Ocean – can have multiple explanations. They could have been brought over by Greek merchants, but their coming via a North-Pontic route is also possible, since they were present since the early Scythian period[81]. The Scythians apparently adapted the usage of these shells from the Middle East, trough Caucasian intermediaries[82].

Of particular interest are the colored glass beads with human faces discovered in the hillfort of Bunești (**Fig. 6**). It is considered that this type of items, well attested in the entire Mediterranean area, but also in the temperate Europe, have their ultimate origin in Phoenician and Carthaginian workshops[83]. For the 4th-3rd centuries BC it is difficult to imagine Phoenician traders entering in significant numbers in the northwestern regions of the Black Sea, thus we can assume that the artefacts were brought by Greek merchants and then spread from one "barbarian" group to another.

79 MICHAŁOWSKI 2004; MUNTEANU, IARMULSCHI 2013.
80 FLORESCU, FLORESCU 2005: 93.
81 BRUYAKO 2007.
82 BRUYAKO 2007: 228-229.
83 KARWOWSKI 2005: 169; see the discussion in RUSTOIU 2011: 96-97.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

In the third hoard in the hillfort of Bunești were found, among others, a necklace composed of 70 reddish coral branches and a necklace composed of 71 amber pieces and three beads made of glass paste. Unfortunately, we did not have access to the artifact and we cannot know whether we are dealing with coral from the Indian Ocean or with the more common *Corallium rubrum* from the Mediterranean Sea. Regarding the amber, there is no analysis to see its precise origin, but it could have been brought via the Amber Route from the Baltic, maybe through a Celtic intermediary[84].

7. Conclusions

The data we have presented offers a preliminary picture of the contacts that the builders of the hillforts had with closer or more distant cultural areas. These must be seen, of course, as just a part in the wider landscape of special developments that the East-Carpathian region experienced during the 5th-3rd centuries BC, that in many ways ultimately transformed it into a „Barbarian periphery" of the civilized world.

Some question marks still remain, related to the functionality of certain hillforts such as the one from Bunești which offered a vast and expressive material. The meaning of the find from here remains as of now obscure, due to the precarious excavation techniques as well as due to the lack of an archaeological monography.

It remains for further researches and diggings to complete these preliminary data.

Bibliography

ALEXANDRU 2011	Alexandru, N., *Notă despre fondarea orașului Callatis*, in: *Pontica*, XLIV, 83-89.
ALEXANDRESCU 1990	Alexandrescu, P., *Les Eubéens et le début de la navigation en mer Noire*, in: M.-M. Mac, É. Geny (eds.), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque V. Anthropologie et société, Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon*, 429, Besançon, 1-8.

84 See the discussions in RUSTOIU 2015.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

ARNĂUT 2003 Arnăut, T. *Vestigii ale sec. VII-III a.Chr. în spațiul de la răsărit de Carpați*, Centrul Editorial USM, Chișinău.

BABEȘ 1985 Babeș, M. *Date arheologice și istorice privind partea de nord-est a Daciei în ultimele secole înaintea erei noastre*, in: *SCIVA*, XXXVI, 3, 183-214.

BAZARCIUC 1979 Bazarciuc, V., *Date noi privind cultura geto-dacică în lumina recentelor cercetări arheologice în zona Hușilor*, in: *Hierassus*, II, 33-36.

BAZARCIUC 1980 Bazarciuc, V., *Cetatea geto-dacică de la Bunești (jud. Vaslui)* in: *AMM*, II, 61-80.

BAZARCIUC 1983 Bazarciuc, V., *Cetatea geto-dacică de la Bunești, jud. Vaslui*, in: *SCIVA*, XXXIV, 3, 249-273.

BCOSPE I 2014 Cojocaru, V., *Bibliographia Classica Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini I. Epigraphica, Numismatica, Onomastica & Prosopographica*, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca.

BCOSPE II 2018 Cojocaru, V., *Bibliographia Classica Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini II. Archaeologica*, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca.

BCOSPE III 2019 Cojocaru, V., *Bibliographia Classica Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini III. Ars, Res Sacrae & Mythologica*, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca.

BERZOVAN 2016 Berzovan, A., *Considerații privind două cetăți getice din Podișul Moldovei: Poiana Mănăstirii - Între Șanțuri și Dobrovăț - Cetățuia, jud. Iași*, in: D. Micle, A. Stavilă, C. Opreanu, S. Forțiu (eds.), *Arheovest IV. In Honorem Adrian Bejan*, JATEPress Kiado, Szeged, 215-247.

BERZOVAN 2016a Berzovan, A., *Observații privind funcționalitatea unor piese din tezaurul de la Stâncești, comuna Mihai Eminescu, jud. Botoșani*, in: *CI*, S.N., XXXV, 49-59.

BERZOVAN 2018 Berzovan, A., *Religion and Magic in the Iron Age fort of Stâncești*, in: *Volume of the International Symposium. The Image of Divinity in the Neolithic and Eneolithic. Ways of Communication*, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava, 229-240.

BERZOVAN 2018a Berzovan, A., *Observatii privind câteva fragmente ceramice de tip vest-podolian descoperite în cetățile getice de la Stâncești*, in: *ArhMold*, XLI, 229-234.

BERZOVAN 2018b Berzovan, A., *O comoară scitică în ținuturile geților. Considerații privind tezaurul de la Stâncești*, in: *AMT*, XIV, 39-56.

BERZOVAN 2020 Berzovan, A., *A Scythian Hoard in the Lands of the Getae. Considerations regarding the Hoard of Stâncești*, in: S. Pankova, St. John Simpson (eds.), *Masters of the Steppe: The Impact of the*

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Scythians and Later Nomad Societies of Eurasia, Archaeopress, Oxford, 51-63.

BERZOVAN, ENEA, BOGHIAN 2020 — Berzovan, A., Enea, S., Boghian, D., *Unpublished fragments of Greek amphorae in the collections of the Țibana Parish Museum (Iași County)* in: A. Zanoci, M. Băț (eds.), *Cross-Cultural Interaction in the Tisza - Dniester region in the Iron Age*, Bons Offices, Chișinău, 39-50.

BERZOVAN, SIMALCSIK, KOVÁCS 2020 — Berzovan, A., Kovács, A., Simalcsik, S., *The Iron Age necropolis of Strahotin - Ponoare, Dângeni commune, Botoșani County (5th - 4th century BC)*, in: S. Matei (ed.), *Bronze and Iron Ages in Eurasia: Rituals and Grave Goods as Possible Markers of the Social Identity of the Dead*, Mousaios, XXIII, 55-101.

BERZOVAN 2022 — Berzovan, A., *At the Borders of the Great Steppe. Late Iron Age Hillforts between the Eastern Carpathians and Prut (5th-3rd centuries BC),* Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca.

BRUYAKO 2007 — Bruyako, I., *Seashells and Nomads of the Steppes (Early Scythian Culture and Molluscs of the Cyprea family in Eastern Europe)*, in: *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, 13, 225–240.

BUZDUGAN 1968 — Buzdugan, C., *Necropola getică de la Slobozia*, in: *Carpica*, I, 77-94.

COJOCARU 2004 — Cojocaru, V., *Populația zonei nordice și nord-vestice a Pontului Euxin în secolele VI-I a.Chr. pe baza izvoarelor epigrafice*, Ed. Univ. „Al. I. Cuza", Iași.

CZOPEK 2019 — Czopek, S., *Enklawa Scytyjskiego Kręgu Kulturowegow południowo-wschodniej Polsce*, in: *Przegląd Archeologiczny*, 67, 119-148.

CZOPEK 2020 — Czopek, S., *Znaczenie Odkryć w Chotyńcu (Południowo-Wschodnia Polska) dla Interpretacji Procesów Kulturowo-Historycznych na Zachodnim Wołyniu i Podolu (Ukraina) we Wczesnej Epoce Żelaza*, in: *Archeologia Polski*, LXV, 67-114.

DUNDES 1992 — Dundes, A., *The Evil Eye. A Casebook*, Madison.

DZNELADZE, SYMONENKO 2010 — Dzneladze, O., Symonenko, O., *The Eye Beads. Amulets of Warriors in the 3rd - 1st centuries BC*, in: I. Cândea (ed.), *Tracii și vecinii lor în Antichitate. Studia in Honorem Valerii Sîrbu,* Ed. Istros, Brăila, 197-215.

FLORESCU, FLORESCU 2005 — Florescu, A., Florescu, M., *Cetățile traco-getice din secolele VII-III a.Chr. de la Stâncești (jud. Botoșani),* Ed. Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște.

GAVRILJUK 2003 — Gavriljuk, N., *The Graeco-Scythian slave-trade in the sixth and fifth centuries BC*, in: P. Guldager Bilde, J. Munk Højte, V. Stolba

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

(eds.), *The Cauldron of Ariantas: studies presented to A. N. Shcheglov on his 70th birthday*, Aarhus, 75-85.

HAHEU 2008 Haheu, V., *Sisteme de fortificații traco-getice de la est de Carpați*, Academia de Științe a Moldovei, Institutul Patriomiului Cultural, Chișinău.

HIND 1994 Hind, J., *The trade in Getic slaves and the silver coins of Istria*, in: *Thracia Pontica*, V, 153–158.

KARWOWSKI 2005 Karwowski, M., *The Earliest Type of Eastern Celtic Glass Ornaments*, in: H. Dobrzanska, V. Megaw, P. Poleska (eds.), *Celts on the Margin. Studies in European Cultural Interaction. 7th century BC - 1st century AD. Dedicated to Zenon Wožniak*, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Krakow, 163-171.

LUNGU 2001 Lungu, V., *La tombe d'un* ΗΡΩΣ *et l'organisation de la nécropole d'une cité milésienne du Pont Euxin: le tumulus T A95 d'Orgamé*, in: *Talanta*, XXXII-XXXIII, 171-188.

MATEEVICI 2007 Mateevici, N., *Amforele grecești din mediul barbar în nord-vestul Pontului Euxin în sec. VI - începutul sec. II a.Chr.*, Chișinău.

MĂNDESCU 2010 Măndescu, D., *Cronologia perioadei timpurii a celei de-a doua epoci a fierului (sec. V-III a.Chr.) între Carpați, Nistru și Balcani*, Ed. Istros, Brăila.

MICHAŁOWSKI 2004 Michałowski, A., *Łyżki gliniane z okresu predrzymskogo w terenów Europy Środkowej*, in: H. Machajewski (ed.), *Kultura jastorfska na Nizinie Wielkopolsko-Kujawskiej*, Brandt, Poznań, 123–160.

MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1990 Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, V., *Dacia răsăriteană in secolele VI—I î.e.n. Economie și monedă*, Ed. Junimea, Iași.

MUNTEANU, CHIRIAC 2016 Munteanu, L., Chiriac, C., *The Hoard with coins of „Huși - Vovriești" Type Discovered in Huși*, in: V. Cojocaru, A. Rubel (eds.), *Mobility in Research on the Black Sea Region*, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 541-581.

MUNTEANU, IARMULSCHI 2013 Munteanu, O., Iarmulschi, V., *Linguri de lut din mediul culturii Poienești - Lucașeuca*, in: *Revista Arheologică*, S.N., IX, 2, 76-84.

MUNTEANU, BĂȚ, ZANOCI. 2020 Munteanu, O., Băț, M., Zanoci, A., *Fibule de schemă La* Tène *timpuriu de pe teritoriul Republicii Moldova: un catalog al descoperirilor din așezări*, in: I. Cândea (ed.), *The Thracians and their neighbours in Antiquity: Archaeology and History. Studies in Honor of Valeriu Sîrbu at his 70th Anniversary*, Ed. Istros, Brăila, 333-358.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

NICULIȚĂ, TEODOR, ZANOCI. 2002 Niculiță, I., Teodor, S., Zanoci, A., *Butuceni. Monografie arheologică*, Ed. Vavila Edinf SRL, București.

PEEV 2005 Peev, P., *Prehistoric Trade Routes in the Black Sea*, in: O. Menozzi, M. L. Di Marzio, D. Fossataro (eds.), *SOMA 2005. Proceedings of the IX Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology*, Chieti (Italy), 24-26 February 2005, Archaeopress, Oxford, 217-222.

PEREGO 2010 Perego, E., *Magic and Ritual in Iron Age Veneto, Italy*, in: *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology*, 20, 67-96.

RAJ IAȘI 1984 Chirica, V., Tanasachi, M., *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Iași*, I, Iași.

RAJ VASLUI 1980 Coman, Gh., *Statornicie, continuitate. Repertoriul arheologic al Județului Vaslui*, Ed. Litera, București.

ROSTOVTZEEF 1922 Rostovtzeef, M., *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

RUSTOIU 2011 Rustoiu, A., *Celto-Pontica. Connections of the Celts from Transylvania with the Black Sea*, in: *Pontica*, XLIV, 91-112.

RUSTOIU 2015 Rustoiu, A., *Amphora-shaped Glass and Coral Beads. Distant Cultural Connections in the Carpathian Basin at the Beginning of the Late Iron Age*, in: *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*, 45, 365-377.

RUSTOIU, FERENCZ 2017 Rustoiu, A., Ferencz, I., *Cross-cultural connections between the Middle and Lower Danube Regions during the Late Iron Age. The Silver bracelet from Bănița (jud. Hunedoara / Ro) revisited*, in: *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*, 47, 3, 341-358.

RUSTOIU 2020 Rustoiu, A., *Cultural Connections on Both Sides of the Eastern Carpathians in the 3rd Century BC. Mobility of the Metal Craftsmen*, in: A. Berzovan (ed.), *Studia Praehistorica et Antiqua. Miscellanea in honorem Silvia Teodor*, Ed. Univ. "Al. I. Cuza", Iași, 155-168.

SÎRBU 1983 Sîrbu, V., *Nouvelles considerations générales concernant l'importations des amphores grecques sur le territoire de la Roumanie (les VIe-Ier siècles av. n.è.)*, in: *Pontica*, XVI, 43-67.

ȘOVAN, IGNAT 2005 Șovan, O., Ignat, M., *Așezarea getică fortificată de la Cotu – Copălău, jud. Botoșani*, Ed. Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște.

SPÂNU 2013 Spînu, D., *Fibule „de tip hibrid"?* in: *MCA*, S.N., IX, 145-156.

TEODOR 1988 Teodor, S., *Elemente celtice pe teritoriul est-carpatic al României*, in: *ArhMold*, XII, 33-51.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

TRYBALA-ZAWISLAK 2020 Trybala - Zawislak, K., *The fortified settlement in Chotyniec (south-eastern Poland) as part of the military system of forest-steppe Scythia*, in: *Ido Movement for Culture. Journal of Martial Arts Anthropology*, 20, 4, 55-63.

VICKERS 2019 Vickers, M., *Amphora Studies: Is there Light at the End of the Tunnel?* in: A. Rubel (ed.), *Michael Vickers. Parerga: Selected Essays on Literature, Art and Archaeology*, Ed. Academiei - Ed. Istros, Brăila, 165-170.

YOLERI *et al.* 2006 Yoleri, H., Cizer, S., Yarol, Y., Kahraman, D., *Nazar inanci ve Gelenksel Katir Boncuklari*, in: *Sanat*, 14, 104-113.

ZANOCI 1998 Zanoci, A., *Fortificațiile geto-dacice din spațiul extracarpatic în secolele VI - III a.Chr.*, Ed. Vavila Edinf SRL, București.

*

БРУЯКО 2005 Бруяко, И., *Ранние кочевники в европе*, Кишинев.

ІЛЬКІВ 2020 Ільків, М. В., *Археологічні Старожитності Чернівецької Області*, Чернівецький національний університет, Чернівці.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

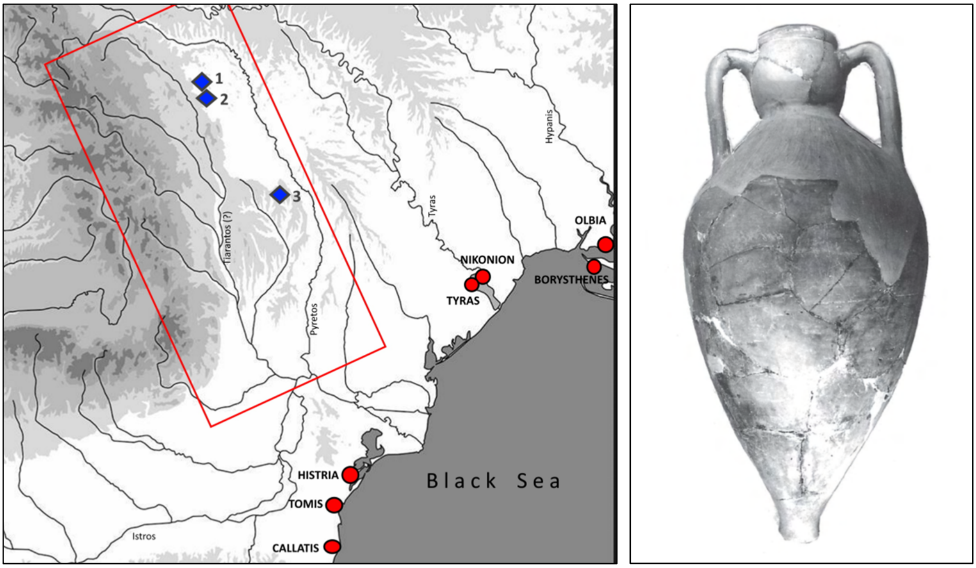


Fig. 1. Left. Distribution of Chios amphorae in the hillforts from our area of interes: **1.** Stâncești; **2.** Cotu-Copălău; **3.** Poiana Mănăstirii; **Right.** Early Chios Amphora from Stâncești hillfort (after FLORESCU, FLORESCU 2005: fig. 94).

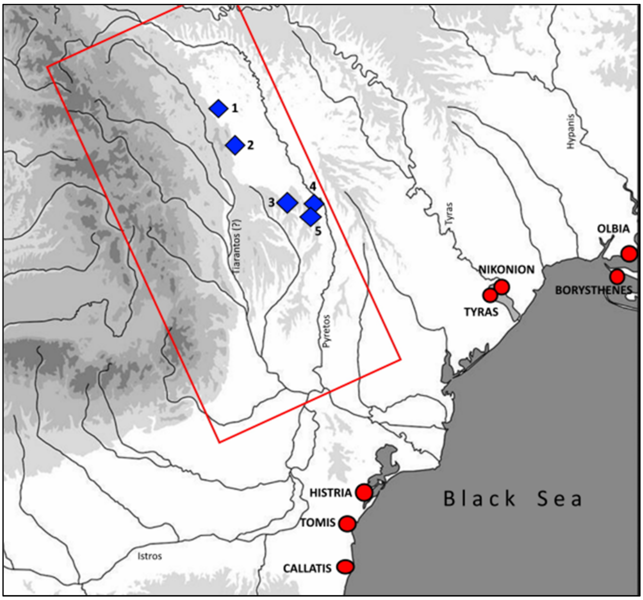


Fig. 2. Distribution of Rhodian Amphorae in the hillforts from our area of interest. **1.** Cotu - Copălău; **2**. Cotnari - *Cătălina*; **3**. Poiana Mănăstirii; **4.** Moșna; **5.** Arsura.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

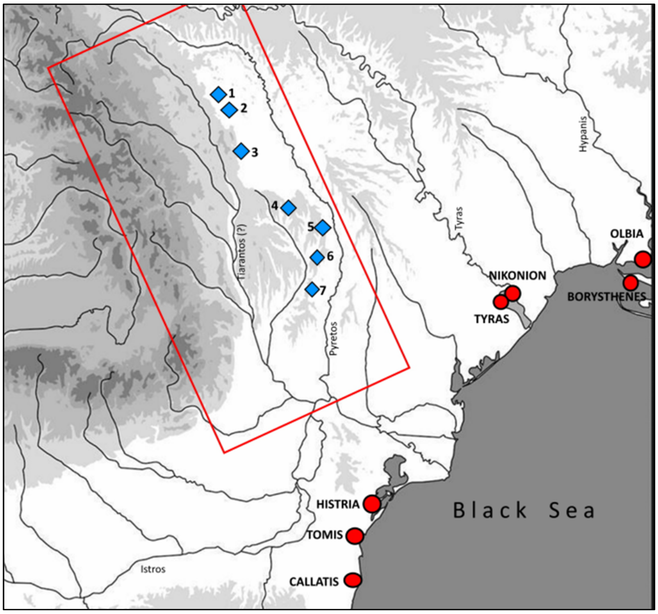


Fig. 3. Distribution of the Thasos Amphorae in the hillforts from our area of interest: **1.** Stâncești; **2.** Cotu-Copălău; **3.** Cotnari-*Cătălina*; **4.** Poiana Mănăstirii; **5.** Bunești; **6.** Albești; **7**. Fedești.

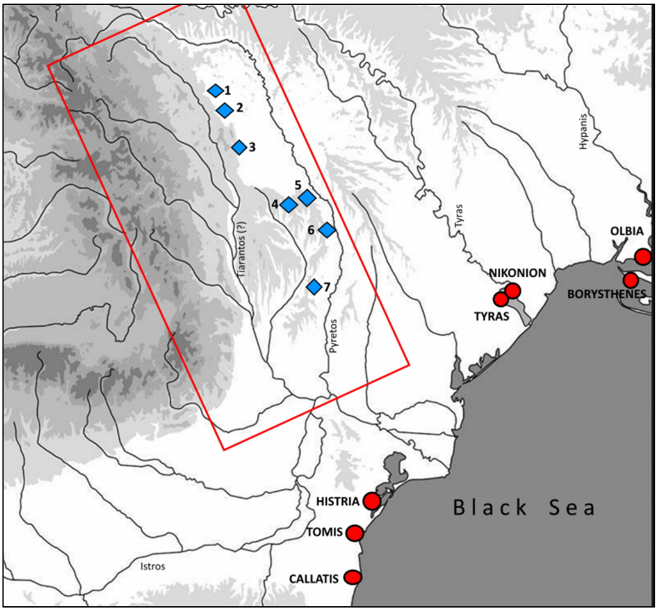


Fig. 4. Distribution of Heraclean Amphorae in the hillforts from our area of interest. **1.** Stâncești; **2.** Cotu-Copălău; **3.** Cotnari-*Cătălina*; **4.** Poiana Mănăstirii; **5**. Dobrovăț; **6**. Bunești; **7.** Fedești.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Fig. 5. Various types of glass-beads from the Stâncești hillfort (Botoșani County Museum).

Fig. 6. Glass-beads with human face from the Bunești hillfort.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

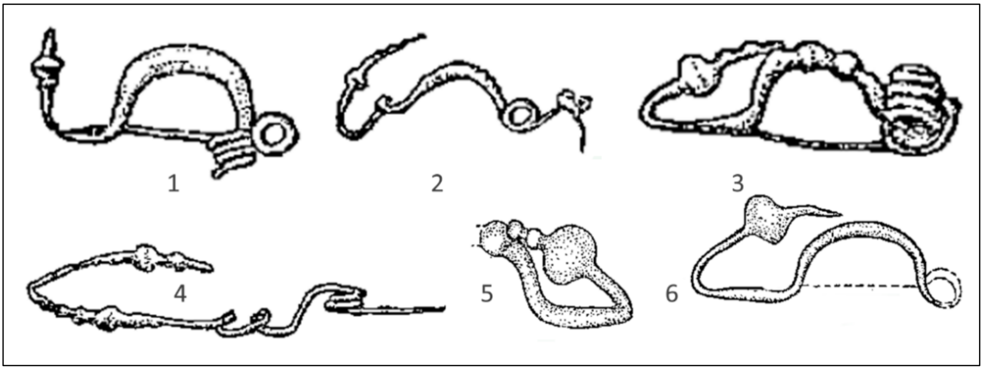


Fig. 7. Latene type brooches from Bunești hillfort (after TEODOR 1988).

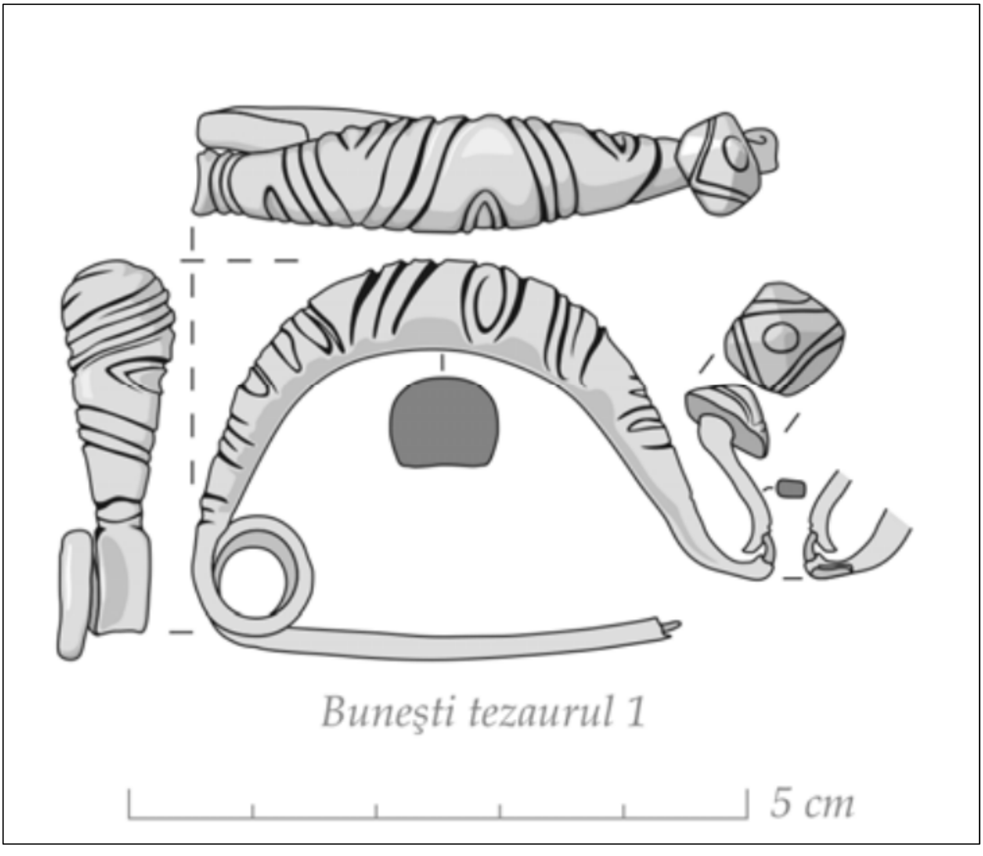


Fig. 8. Hybrid type brooch from Bunești hillfort (after SPÂNU 2013).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

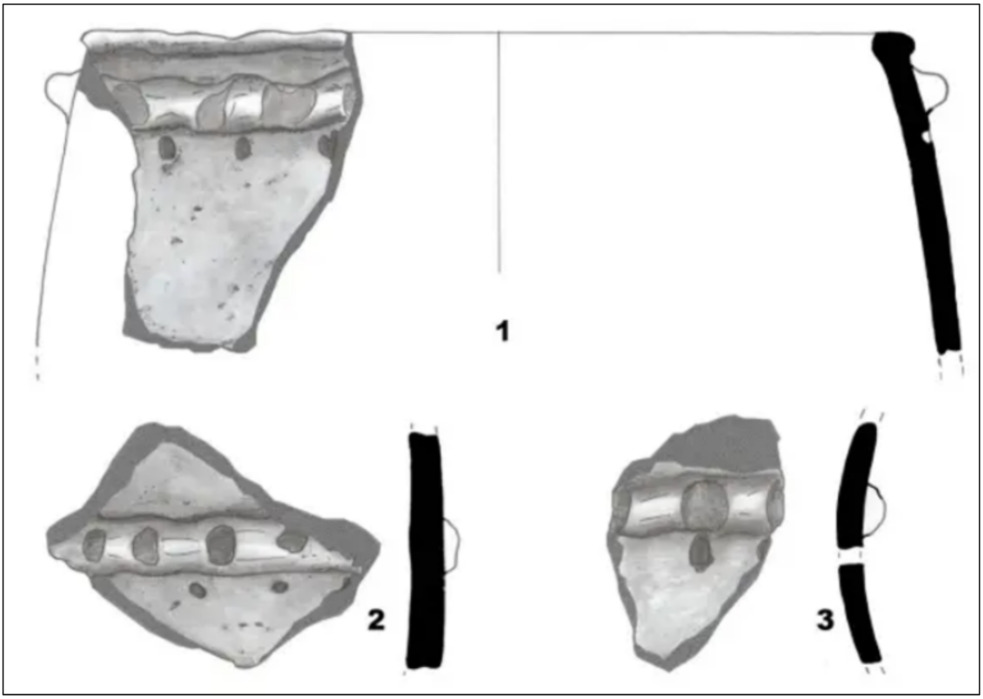


Fig. 9. Western-Podolian type pottery from Stâncești hillfort.

Fig. 10. Clay-spoons found in the Stâncești hillfort
(after FLORESCU, FLORESCU 2005).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Pax Romana in the Lower Danube

VIRGIL MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA*

Abstract: The Romans understood after the wars with the Dacians how vulnerable the Lower Moesia is. As a result, they made special decisions: the 5th Macedonica and 11th Claudia legions moved closer to the mouth of the Danube and strengthened the fortification at Barboși-Galați. At the beginning of Hadrian's reign, when the unrest of 117-118 threatened the Danube border even more, military and diplomatic measures were taken to ensure a century of peace in the Balkans. Initially, the Roman army launched a strong offensive against the Hasdingi Vandals who were driven out of the eastern Carpathian area. Several diplomatic maneuvers followed as a result of which the Costoboc kingdom will gain a clientele status. Also, the Romans, due to their experience, manage to induce major population movements in the discussed area: probably from this period the Lacringii/Taifali are established near the Costobocii transmontani, the population of the Lipica culture is transferred to the south and southwest, and from the east of the Dniester, the Goths will be established. Costoboci, Taifali, Carpi and Goths had a strong alliance between them and clientelar relations with the Empire.

Keywords: *Myszków; Przeworsk; Lipița; Poienești-Vârteșcoi; Černjachov-Sântana de Mureș; Costoboci; Carpi; Hasdingi; Taifali; Dacringi.*

In a crucial moment of the first Roman-Dacian war – when Trajan was close to defeating Decebal's resistance definitely – in the winter of 101-102, an unexpected attack against Lower Moesia took place. Upon forcing the Danube, probably on an ice bridge, the Dacians and their allies (Sarmatians Roxolani Catafractari and Germanics – the Suebian Buri)

* Iași Institute of Archaeology: vmbinst@yahoo.com

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

invaded the aforementioned province, menacing even the entire Roman domination of the Balkans. Faced with the overwhelming danger ahead, the emperor accompanied by the Praetorian Guard left Dacia using the Moesian fleet on the Dobrujan front where he obtained a sounding victory (though not without heavy losses), probably at the later Nicopolis ad Istrum[1]. Without reiterating in the economy of my paper the unfolding of the confrontation, I will use this occasion to insist upon identifying (with the Buri) the Germanics featured on the Column of Trajan in Rome and on Trophaeum – Traiani of Adamclissi[2], a hypothesis founded on the well-known account about the Buri delegation that came to Trajan to stop the attack against Dacia[3]. However, Vasile Pârvan showed that the localisation of this group is in North-western Dacia[4], although, in my opinion, it must have been closer to the operations in Moesia, in the northeast of the Dacian space, where the Vandalic people of the Hasdingi had been manifesting with a well-known aggressiveness[5].

A Roman counteroffensive may have taken place in the Barbarian territory right after the battles in Moesia, although – for strategic (tactic and logistical) reasons – I do not believe it would have been to the advantage of the Romans. However, the victory in the Lower Danube area had the direct consequence of removing the Roxolani from the group of Decebal's allies – they no longer participated in the second Dacian war (separate peace treaty) – and consolidating the Moesian border by moving the Vth Macedonica Legion from Oescus to Troesmis and (following the Dacian wars) of the XIth Claudia Legion from Oescus to Durostorum[6].

Towards the second Dacian war, Trajan's Column depicts the siege and conquest of a Dacian fortifications (the scenes CL, CLI). In the opinion of N. Gostar, they would illustrate the last moments (following Decebal's

---

1 VULPE 1976a: 236-239; PETOLESCU 1995; SUCEVEANU, RĂDULESCU 2010: 302-303; ȚENTEA 2016: 87-99.

2 VULPE 1976b: 205-225.

3 DIO CASSIUS LXVII, 8, 1. See VULPE 1976b: 240, 255.

4 PÂRVAN 1926: 223-224 and the note 3.

5 ȘTEFAN 2005: 658.

6 MATEI-POPESCU 2010: 134.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

death) of the confrontation, to be placed geographically in eastern Dacia (Răcătău, Brad, Bâtca Doamnei, Titelca-Tg. Ocna)[7]. At the same time, I believe that the assumption according to which the last battles could have taken place in the north of intra-Carpathian Dacia is also plausible, because at Zemplin, Solotvino-Cetate, Oncești-Cetățeaua, and Malaja Kopanja, too, a last habitation level marked by arson and destructions was attested archaeologically, and dated approximately in the same period[8].

After the Dacian wars, Trajan remained in the conquered territory for a while to organise the new province (from a political and administrative, defensive, and even economic perspective). Immediately upon conquest, the topographers and engineers accompanying the Roman Army outlined rapidly and efficiently the border that also comprised a control area in front of the fortifications (*Vorlimes*)[9], all of them actually accounting for the *limes* as a militarised territory[10]. In addition, it appears that in this period they finalised the borders of Roman Dacia and its relationships with the neighbours[11].

The firmness of the Dacian resistance also attracted the brutality of the Roman conquest, the acrimonious battles, and the torture of those caught were often noted on both the Column (XXIV-XXV, XXXVII, XL-XLI, CXX) and the accounts of sources[12]. They also explain the Column images referring to population displacements[13] or the lack of information about the conclusion

---

7 GOSTAR 1969: 95, 97, 101-103.

8 KOTIGOROŠKO 1995: 104, 177.

9 PIGANIOL 1963: 119-120; OPREANU 1998: 18-20.

10 MAYERSON 1989: 290-291; MILLER 1996: 158-171.

11 POULTER 1990: 145; ELTON 1996: 127, 135: the civilian and military borders may differ, though administered by the same political unit which, in their turn, may coincide or not with others that are non-political (linguistic, commercial, monetary, etc.); the best definition of the Roman border is the political one.

12 DIO CASSIUS LXVIII, 8, 14.

13 Through the *Lex provinciae*, the entire conquered territory becomes *ager publicus* (the arable land, the undergrounds, the forests, the pastures, etc.), and the natives lost their properties. Hence, many of them left and settled in the area near the border or augmented the Dacian element even in more remote areas (cf., MILLAR *et al.* 1967: 65; MACREA: 1970, 29; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1997a: 837, 847; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1997b: 28; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1999: 322; PROTASE 2010c: 154; PROTASE 2010d: 174, 184).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

of clientele treaties with the neighbours of the new province, seemingly punished this way, too, for their support of Decebal. In Transcarpathia, it is worth noting that – in the first half of the second century – the Roman imports are insignificant, which suggests an interruption of the commercial relations with the Empire, which would have been unacceptable in the case of an *amicitia* treaty (though it would appear that even this notion was rather ambiguous, according to various studious researchers)[14]. I should mention here that in Roman Dacia, north of the *limes* (*Samum*/Căşei), there were garrison non-commissioned officers who also fulfilled police functions beyond the fortified area (*agens regione Ansamensium*)[15]. Consequently, I am not convinced that, after the Dacian wars, a clientele treaty was signed immediately with the Costobocian Kingdom north of the Carpathians[16]. I believe that in this period, the banishment of the Buri (Decebal's allies) from the Upper Tissa area began and that the Hasdingi Vandals started coming.

East of the Carpathians, too, a similar policy seems to have been applied. As seen in the Hunt Papyrus (autumn 105-106 ?)[17], the Roman preferred, for the area to the north of the Barboşi bridgehead – a territory considered *intra provinciam* – to use mobile military formations, which collected supplies for the garrison (*ad annona defendam*) and the fleet (*ad naves frumentarias*), ensured the connection between Moesia Inferior and Dacia, but also providing protection to the inhabitants[18].

In the eastern space of the Carpathians, as a consequence of the removal of power centres in the area (represented by the aforementioned Dacian residential centers), a foreign population from the Przeworsk culture area came, around the same time. It may be documented by the discovery of the necropolis of Zvorâștea (north of Suceava), dated to the late second –

---

14 KLOSE 1934: 3 (the *Klientel-Randstaaten* were located between the area belonging to the Empire and the "free" areas); PITTS 1989: 74; KOTIGOROŠKO 1995: 177; OPREANU 1998: 20-17.

15 CIL III, 7633. See FLORESCU 1985: 57-58 and PISO 2019: 116-118.

16 OPREANU 1998: 60, 76.

17 SYME 1971: 126; POULTER 1990: 147; SANIE 2010: 304.

18 The geographical limits of the jurisdiction could be extended beyond the border of the province (cf. SYME 1971: 50; PITTS 1989: 50; POULTER 1990:145-147; OPREANU 1994: 211-212).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

early third century, though even the author of the research study points out the similarity between the pottery material found there and the old-phase pottery of the Lipica culture (in both the eponymous settlement and the Zvenigorod or Suceava settlements), which chronologically indicates beyond any doubt the beginning of the second century[19]. It is also worth adding here the recent settlement found at Schineni (north of Bacău), illustrated by Lipica and Przeworsk pottery; several denarii were retrieved from the same place, among which the last two Hadrian emissions (the year 117, August-December). All of them may be ascribed to the first phase of the site, dated between 106 and 150. In addition, about 600 m from this site, there is a "Carpic" cemetery[20]. Both sites mentioned actually stand proof of the advancement of Przeworsk elements on the Siret Valley to the south, towards the Moesian border.

Trajan's domestic policy sought to consolidate the authority and privileges of the Roman elite, to which we add the exorbitant expenses for gaining popularity (the numerous and diverse buildings, *alimenta, donativa, congiaria,* etc), and mostly for the almost permanent wars conducted. It all led to highly severe inflation rates in the second part of his reign[21], which often caused troubles. Even from the 115-117, the first uprisings took place in Palestine, Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Cyprus[22], which also continued in the initial period of Hadrian's reign (117-118), in Britannia, Egypt, Libya, Palestine, Mauretania[23], now accompanied by attacks from the outside (the Yazyges and the Roxolani Sarmatians)[24], all of them together represented a great burden for the Empire.

Trajan's successor, aware of how difficult it was to govern the Empire, following the previous imprudent conquests, gave up most of them (Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia). Forced by the serious situation,

---

19 IGNAT 1970: 676-677.

20 FLORESCU, CĂPITANU 1969: 219; MUNTEANU, HONCU, APARASCHIVEI 2021: 139-141. I also received useful information from Ş. Honcu, to whom I am sincerely grateful.

21 PETIT 1974: 167-168; CIZEK 1980: 206-229; ROSTOVTSEFF 1988: 260-263.

22 PETIT 1974: 169-170; DIO CASSIUS LXVIII, 32, 1-3.

23 SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, 5.2. See PETIT 1974: 218-219; PEKÁRY 1987: 142.

24 SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, 5.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Hadrian came to Dacia in the late 117, where he remained until the spring of 118, and he took a series of extraordinary measures[25]. Characterised by the ancient authors "as prudent, generous, and very just", the emperor manages to dominate over the Sarmatians, probably through military operations (October 117 – June 118) and increases the *stipendia*, turning them into a clientelar nation[26]. And yet, sources also recount his initial intention of abandoning Dacia (he had the Drobeta bridge destroyed)[27], which would have been a tremendous strategic error, given that the new province accomplished a crucial role: it was capable of sectioning an offensive front of a potential coalition comprising the Barbarian populations in the Middle Danube area, down to its discharge into the Pontus.

All this information has determined me to admit that the pressure upon the border was also intensified by other elements: the Suebi (Buri, Quazi) in the northwest[28] and the Vandals (Hasdingi) in the east, at the Moesian border. Probably in the north of the border, the Costoboc kingdom becomes a client entity for the first time, as clearly shown in the afore-cited epigraph in Rome, unless the family members of King Pieporus were refugees in the Empire following domestic fights for power (given that the clientelar agreements were exclusively personal)[29].

As I have mentioned before, Hadrian changed his mind about abandoning the new province and ordered an administrative reorganisation, which would ensure the defence of Dacia for decades to come: the constitution of a new province (maybe even from 118)[30] – Dacia Porolissensis – added new elements to the defensive system initiated by Trajan, as well as more specialised military units which all turned the *limes* in the Meseș Mountains into the strongest in the entire area, protecting the access to Dacia[31].

---

25 MACREA 1970: 43.

26 DIO CASSIUS LXIX, 5. HEUSS 1953: 47 (*amicitiam renovare*); TUDOR 1957: 16; WILKES 1963: 275; PETIT 1974: 222-223.

27 SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, 6, 6; EUTROPIUS VIII, 6, 2.

28 SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, 5, 2; DOBIÁS 1960: 148-150.

29 BADIAN 1958: 262; BĂRBULESCU 2010: 84-85.

30 PROTASE 2010a: 47-50.

31 PROTASE 2010b: 120-122.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

East of the Roman Dacia, the situation was far more serious, given that the collapse of the Moesian *limes* attracted the opening of ways to invade the Balkan Peninsula, from the Danube to the Peloponnese. Among the numerous methods of removing the threats to the Empire[32], I will list some of them below to get a better insight into how the defence of Moesia came together[33].

The first was exploiting the "Barbarian" territory from all standpoints. In this respect, I mention a journey made during Nero's reign by a certain knight Iulianus, who was able to cover "without any restrictions" the entire road from Carnuntum to the Baltic Sea, bringing back a significant amount of amber[34]. On this occasion, the Roman merchant must have collected intelligence about the roads and the challenges entailed, the nations encountered and their lifestyles, the elements of the local elite, their military force and their relations with other nations (mostly with the neighbours), and so on. In addition, during Nero's reign, it is worth highlighting the rich exploration activity (mainly for trade purposes), conducted by both private associations and under the official aegis[35]. Another example to note is that of an exiled traveller, a Greek who described in detail the populations in the Left Pontus, including their war preparations[36].

Another way of defending Moesia was the transfer of populations, a widely spread method since the Ancient East (e.g., Nebuchadnezzar II moving the Jews after the conquest of Jerusalem in 586 BC)[37], which proves once again that the "great Roman military strategies" had been used since

---

32 The treatment of the populations within the *Barbaricum* does not show a well-thought and applied doctrine, but a spur-of-the-moment policy dictated by immediate necessities (cf. WALSER 1979: 43).

33 The "great strategies" used by Rome for its defence had been used frequently throughout history (cf. LUTTWAK 1976). See also MANN 1979: 179-183.

34 PLINIUS, *HistNat.*, XXXVII, 43-45.

35 CIZEK 1986: 310-313.

36 DIO CHRYSOSTOMOS XII, 17: "*And I went there, not as a merchant with his wares, nor yet as one of the supply-train of the army in the capacity of baggage-carrier or cattle-driver, nor was I discharging a mission as ambassador to our allies or on some embassy bearing congratulations, the members of which join in prayers with the lips only*".

37 THE BIBLE, *Daniel*, 1.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

the Antiquity by various peoples (Greeks and Romans included). To support the statement above, I mention the expedition of Aelius Catus during the reign of Augustus (4/6 AD) in the northern Danube, from where he brought 50,000 Getae to the Roman territory[38].

A compelling example is that of moving an entire population (i.e., the Yazyges Sarmatians, brought from the plains in the Northern Black Sea area to the upper stream of the Tisza River)[39]. The transfer could not have been possible without Roman military and logistic assistance. The road of this nation of horsemen was full of challenges, as they probably crossed the Danube downstream from the Iron Gates[40] and then through the new province of Moesia[41]; subsequently, after crossing the great river again, they followed the course of Tisza upstream; they must have crossed the Danube during the winter when the river became frozen, or with assistance from the Roman fleet during the other seasons. The northern route[42], over the wooded Carpathians, was far too difficult for a nomadic population of horsemen carts and animals, in addition to the need for guides and the acceptance of the inhabitants of the lands they passed through. They were brought to this strategic area for Rome probably during the reign of Tiberius (19/20 AD)[43], to block the combined attacks of the Dacians, Quazi, and Buri who often devastated Pannonia. Pursuant to the available information, in the first half of the first century AD, the clientelar agreement of the Yazyges may have contained an exemption from paying the Roman tribute or other advantages in exchange for providing auxiliary units[44]. Indeed, from that moment on, the frequency of the attacks from this direction against the imperial border diminishes, while the animosities between the Dacians and the Yazyges became obvious (mostly during the Roman-Dacian wars).

---

[38] STRABON VII, 3, 10; PÂRVAN 1926: 94-95, 128; SYME 1971: 53-58; VULPE 1968: 41-44 (between the years 9-11).

[39] KEHNE 1994: 46 (the bookmark Roman intervention: tolerated settling in peripheral areas or direct ascribing in the areas located in front of the *limes*); OPREANU 1997: 28-51; KEHNE 2009: 75-138.

[40] OLTEAN 2007: 47.

[41] SYME 1971: 58-64.

[42] VULPE 1968: 56-57.

[43] TACITUS 1964, XII, 29-30. BĂRBULESCU 2010: 74.

[44] KLOSE 1934: 147; WILKES 1963: 259.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The intervention by Rome deep into the Barbarian territory grew stronger and extended over time, as clearly shown during the term of the Moesian governor (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*), Tiberius M. f. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (56/57 – 66/67)[45]. Through its contents, the inscription on the funerary monument of Tibur[46] provides an extremely vast volume of information, with particular historical implications, which has drawn the attention of both Romanian and foreign specialists. I must mention first of all V. Pârvan[47], D. M. Pippidi[48], R. Vulpe[49], and E. Cizek[50], who debated its text in great length. The contents reveal a genuine Roman program of international relations with the *Barbaricum*, starting from the famous *divide et impera*. Without providing too many details – all featured in the works of the above-cited authors – I believe that we should first consider that the chronological timeframe of the events depicted is hard to determine, and that they entailed military, economic, and diplomatic pursuits alike: in 61, probably due to a violent expedition, the governor had 100,000 Transdanubians people (Getae or belonging to several ethnic groups)[51] moved to Moesia, mostly *ad prestanda tributa* (namely as colonists) and to create a safety zone[52]. The panegyric of Tib. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus also mentions military expeditions – certain or deductible – such as those against the Sarmatians (62 AD), bringing "unknown or enemy" kings from the other side of the great river to the conditions of vassals. He also discusses the removal of dangerous adversaries for the Greek cities in the Northern Black Sea to Crimea (66 AD), taking hostages from others, and finally, taking back relevant hostages taken by the Romans or those retained within conflicting relations between various populations[53]. The

[45] PIPPIDI 1967, 301; SUCEVEANU, RĂDULESCU 2010, 298.
[46] CIL XIV, 3608 = ILS 986 = IDRE I, 113.
[47] PÂRVAN 1926: 102-105, 109, 120.
[48] PIPPIDI 1967: 287-328.
[49] VULPE 1968; 49-51, 122.
[50] CIZEK 1986: 274, 305-308.
[51] PIPPIDI 1967: 306-307; VULPE 1968: 56. The number of men and women, children, kings, and tribe heads may have reached, according to various commentators, around 250,000, but I find this figure exaggerated (cf. POULTER 1990: 145).
[52] PIPPIDI 1967: 306-309.
[53] PIPPIDI 1967: 311-314; VULPE 1968: 57-59; CIZEK 1986: 306-308. Upon concluding an agreement, to have insurance, Rome took hostages, but the reverse does not happen (cf. WALSER 1979: 43).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

involvement of Rome in all the issues of a huge territory is worth noting; this is also probably the cause for which the inscription of Tibur did not mention all the details of the multiple actions carried out by the governor[54].

I have highlighted above the special situation of the Roman border in the Lower Danube area, which had become far more vulnerable, especially following the defection of the local factor at the end of the Roman-Dacian wars, which has led to a favourable instability for the further advancement to the south of the aggressive northern elements. Hence, as I assumed, the protection of the Danubian *limes* sector represented a very relevant objective of Hadrian's actions.

The archaeological or ethnographic picture of the North-Carpathian space in that period is not entirely homogeneous. Though the general accredited idea is that the carriers of the Przeworsk culture were the Vandals, it is actually far more accurate to state that it belonged to the tribal union of the Lugi, the cohesion of which was ensured by the religious factor (*Kultverband*). This tribal union – initially with a Celtic dominance and then, from the first century, increasingly Germanic – was led by the Naharvali or Silingi Vandals (*Naharwalen = gottesdienstliche Name der Silingen*), later known as Victovali (Hasdingi)[55]. It appears that their territory included the common worship centre (*Bundesheiligtum*), which designated the Silingi as holders of a dominant (religious and political-military) position in that entity[56]. The multi-ethnic confederation that represented the foundation of the Przeworsk culture, as I stated earlier, was not unitary from an ethnic perspective; the interests of the various *gentes* were often marked by rivalries of unknown origins or by momentary and fluctuant rivalries[57]. Hence, without diving into the tricky details of such animosities – sometimes between the branches of such an ethnic group – I will mention only the adversity between the two Vandal tribes (Victovali/Hasdingi *versu*s Taifali/Lacringi)[58], useful in the course of my argumentation.

---

54 The full text of the inscription in CIZEK 1986: 345.

55 WOLFRAM 1990: 50, 59.

56 MUCH 1926: 117-121; VASMER 1935-1936: 1-15; JÄNICHEN 1938: 254-262; WOLFRAM 1990: 52; TAUSEND 1997: 233; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1997b: 333; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1999: 328.

57 TAUSEND 1997: 230-235.

58 RE XII-1, col. 350-351 (Schönfeld) and IV A-2, col. 2026-2028 (Fluss); DICULESCU 1923a: 70-74; WOLFRAM 1990: 100-101.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Returning to the events that marked the Roman reaction in the Lower Danube area, it may be stated that it unfolded concomitantly on several levels. First of all, we must consider the strategic outpost role of the Barboși fortification (Tirighina). From the time of the Roman-Dacian wars, it is considered that a *castellum* was built here (initially an earthen one, then comprising stone walls), which was later included (*praetorium*) in the stone *castrum* built during the reign of Hadrian, which appeared as well as the small defensive *vallum* between Șerbeștii Vechi and Tulucești[59]. The numerous troops attested in the *castrum* and the surroundings show the presence in all levels of the ruins of the *cohors III Mattiacorum*[60]; however, there is no indicator confirming the existence here of the unit mentioned in the Hunt Papyrus (*Cohors I Hispanorum equitata veterana*), which makes even more equivocal the localisation of Piroboridava. Subsequently, the cohort will be part of the army of Dacia Inferior, later settled at Angustia (129 ?)[61]. Overall, Hadrian's reform in the Lower Danube area may be appraised as a success, thus ensuring more than a century of peace and prosperity for the Balkan Peninsula[62].

In my opinion, the timeframe included a strictly offensive military action, which unfolded on the East-Carpathian front: *vexillationes* comprising mostly mobile auxiliary units of the armies of Moesia Inferior and Dacia Superior (through the Brețcu pass) attacked along the Siret River towards the north, eliminating in their way the Vandal points of resistance (118 ?); during the same time sequence, the Roman troops arrived at the northern area of the Lipica culture, where the Hasdingi power centre must have been located. Here, in the Myszków area (former Galitia, today in the region of Tarnopol, Ukraine), I assume that one of the major confrontations between the Roman troops and the Hasdingi Vandals took place, due to which an amazing artefact was lost: a votive bronze hand offered to Jupiter Dolichenus by Gaius, *primus optio* within the *cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum miliaria civium Romanorum equitata*[63].

---

[59] IONIȚĂ 1982: 18-21; SANIE 2010: 405, 412.

[60] SANIE 2010: 406.

[61] MATEI-POPESCU 2010: 215-218.

[62] OPREANU 1998: 55-56; POPA 2015: 84.

[63] KOLENDO, TRYNKOWSKI 1998: 252, 255 (*I(ovi) M(aximo) D(oliceno) Gaius optio c(ohortis) I Hisp(anorum) ∞ (milliare) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The explanations provided for the emergence of this piece far deep into the *Barbaricum* lack coherence; the researchers have contradictory opinions in this respect: it is either due to commercial exchanges, or the outcome of a robbery within the Roman territory or even it indicates a Roman expedition in the area. One of the most recent studies considers that the artefact comes directly from the *castrum* of Orheiul Bistriței, captured following a Costoboc attack of 167, or another incursion during the Marcomanns wars or even later (though the distance between the place of discovery and the Roman camp exceeded 200 km in a straight line, and the fortification does not include any archaeological record concerning such destruction, as one would expect)[64].

The military unit above was attested at Cuppae in Moesia Superior between 93 and 100, and then it was mentioned in relation to the Roman-Dacian wars; after the wars, it remained in Dacia Superior, in the *castrum* of Orheiul Bistriței (after 108?) and it later pertained to the army of Dacia Porolissensis[65]. The participation of this unit in the expedition against the Hasdingi is highly significant because it is connected to the other Roman operations in the area.

I refer, firstly, to the transfer of the Lipica culture carriers southward, especially in the territory of modern Moldavia, between the Carpathians and the Prut, argued recently by A. Popa[66]. It is also worth mentioning that Vasile Pârvan, in his landmark work, highlighted the extraordinary dissemination of the Dacian tribe of the Carpi from Vistula to the mouths of the Danube and the Dnieper (Carpics, Carpi; Harpi, Arpis)[67]. In both the Lipica culture and the Poienești – Vârteșcoi or Carpic culture, incineration is the rite of choice (though it had been thought, until recently, that they practised inhumation concomitantly). In fact, inhumation was a staple of both cultures for young children or individuals who were not part of the community

---

64 KOLENDO, TRYNKOWSKI 1998: 252-259.

65 PETOLESCU 2002: 111-112; MATEI-POPESCU, ȚENTEA 2006: 138 MATEI-POPESCU, ȚENTEA 2016: 9-10.

66 POPA 2015: 22-35.

67 PÂRVAN 1926: 41-42, 224, 238-240, 242, 252, 268, 281, 283, 287, 298, 668-669, 744, 747, 753; POPA 2015: 30-31.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

(uninitiated, foreigners, prisoners, captives, etc)[68]. The material culture specific to the two civilizations is rather similar; to illustrate this statement, I will refer to the two samples of the pottery found (**Figs. 1-2**), in both the Lipica[69] culture and the Poienești – Vârteșcoi or Carpic culture[70]. From this perspective, I reiterate the discovery near the site of Schineni of a "Carpic" cemetery[71], which may represent further evidence for my assumption[72].

Since the year 1980, when I published for the first time the hypothesis concerning the contribution of the Vandals to the development of the Tumulii Carpian culture, I have brought more evidence throughout the years that they were the Taifali/Lacringi who migrated toward the southeast in the area of the Lipica culture before the Thervingi and the Sarmatians[73]. Hence, it was a pleasant surprise that Liana Vakulenko, adhered to my assumption, but I was also saddened by the lack of any professional deontology on her part, given that she fails to mention the pre-emption of my research, though she reserved many pages to the dismissal of my arguments. Consequently, the Kyiv-based specialist fails to answer essential questions, such as from where and when the Taifali came, and how they arrived and settled near the Costoboci[74].

Another population transfer initiated and supported, beyond a doubt, by the Romans was the one of the Goths to the forest-steppe region in the Northern Black Sea[75]; the Thervingi took over some of the old Carpic territories, the area of the Lipica culture included, as indicated archaeologically, among others, by the crucial discovery of the Černjachov-Sântana de Mureș dwellings overlapping a Lipica settlement[76]. Thus, after

---

68 ČIGILIK 1975: 78; POPA 2015: 22. See the discussion in MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2022: 51-53.

69 SMIŠKO 1932: 115-154.

70 BICHIR 1973: 64-90; POPA 2015: 33, 178-180.

71 MUNTEANU, HONCU, APARASCHIVEI 2021: 139.

72 It may be stated nowadays that the Carpic culture has recorded two development phases throughout its evolution: an older one, Lipica (Carpic culture I) and a more recent one, Poienești-Vârteșcoi (Carpic culture II).

73 DIACONU 1964: 476-479; DIACONU 1965: 116; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1980: 207; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1986: 9; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1997a: 839, 849; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1997b: 335; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1999: 329.

74 VAKULENKO 2007-2008: 160-163, 176; VAKULENKO 2009: 222-230; VAKULENKO 2010: 201-214, 272-275.

75 URBAŃCZYK 1998: 397-413.

76 BARAN 1961: 20-84, 87-93.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

the end of the Lipica culture, the Černjachov-Sântana de Mureș must have emerged in the same area[77].

Taking into account all the details provided above, the significant population migrations took place peacefully, on good terms, and without any haste[78]. More than likely, these movements of nations of considerable proportions, such as those of the Carpi and the Goths, did not take place instantly, but probably in a first preparatory stage, in the new territory came the elite, especially the warriors, followed by the rest of the population.

At this point, in relation to the aspects above, I believe it is relevant to mention additional information about those times: the first is that of the animosity between the Thervingi and some groups within the Przeworsk culture (i.e., the Hasdingi[79] or the Gepidi[80]). A second one refers to the alliance between the Taifali and the Thervingi or the Costoboci, or that between the Carpi and the Thervingi[81], fully visible along several episodes, such as the one during the government of Tullius Menophilus, the governor of Moesia Inferior (238)[82].

Many ancient noted and the entire modern historiography underlined[83] the vicinity and common alliance (until the Hunnic invasion) between the Taifali and the Thervingi, as well as between the Carpi and the Thervingi. Its role – according to the sources and to the archaeological and numismatic sources – was to create a series of clientel kingdoms (*amicii et socii populi Romani*)[84] from the Carpathians to the faraway lands in the Northern Black Sea, thus making up a part of a veritable *cordon sanitaire* protecting the Roman provinces in the south of Danube[85].

---

[77] BIERBRAUER 1999: 228-233.

[78] WOLFRAM 1990: 53.

[79] WOLFRAM, 1990: 72 (the confrontation of 334); KOKOWSKI 2011: 69.

[80] DICULESCU 1923b: 36; HOREDT 1960: 289-291 (the confrontation of 249, at Galtis).

[81] WOLFRAM 1990: 101.

[82] SUCEVEANU, RĂDULESCU 2010: 307; POPA 2015: 31.

[83] DICULESCU 1923a: 68-72; DIACONU 1965: 115; WOLFRAM 1990: 100-101.

[84] BRAUND 1984: 45.

[85] KLOSE 1934: 147 (in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, client states received money and had certain advantages in exchange for protecting the *limes* and even providing auxiliaries); IONIȚĂ 1982: 78-83; BEMMANN 2003: 64-65; POPA 2015: 187-188.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Another piece of information conveyed by the ancient authors, with an essential relevance in my endeavour, refers to the intertribal confrontation between the Hasdingi – Costoboci – Lacringi while the Dacian governor was Sextus Aurelius Clemens (170-172, *legatus Augusti pro praetore trium Daciarum*). The Hasdingi led by the two kings Rhaos and Rhaptos asked the governor for money and land in exchange for their alliance. However, after the rejection of their proposal, they attacked (most probably incited by the Romans) the Costoboci to take their land and, after having defeated them, they continued plundering across Roman Dacia. Subsequently, the Taifali/Lacringi attacked unexpectedly and finally defeated the Hasdingi[86]. From the information above, the following conclusions may be drawn: The Romans had first-hand intelligence about the events in the *Barbaricum*, and they adjusted their actions according to what suited them best[87]; among the barbarian populations, some were more aggressive, and the Romans sought to instigate them against other populations inhabiting the same space; the Costoboci had an alliance with the Taifali, founded on significant spiritual affinities – attested by their funerary customs – and on similar lifestyles (especially livestock rearing).

Finally, another event in which the Costoboci played the primary role took place in 170-172 when the ancient sources describe their raid (rather than an invasion) in the Balkan Peninsula. I would assume that the attackers accounted for dissidents of the Costoboc elite, who did not agree with a friendly relationship with the Empire. Encouraged by the transfer of the Vth Macedonica legion in 168/169 from Troesmis (Moesia Inferior) to Potaissa (Dacia Porolissensis)[88] – indicating the great safety of the South-Danubian provinces – a group of Costoboci must have crossed during the winter of 170-171 the frozen Danube[89], starting a long series of pillages in the South-

---

86 DIO CASSIUS LXXI, 12.

87 TUDOR 1957: 36.

88 BĂRBULESCU 2010: 83.

89 In 170 (cf. PREMERSTEIN 1912: 12); in 170, according to TUDOR 1957: 74; POPESCU 1964: 199-200; in 170, in the opinion of VULPE 1968: 158; in 170, in GUDEA 1994: 71 (he believes that the starting point was the sources of Siret); in 170, in SUCEVEANU, RĂDULESCU 2010: 305; in 170, in CORTÉS COPETE 1995: 190-191; in 270-271, in TKAČI 2013: 88-90; in 170, in BĂRBULESCU 2010: 86; POPA 2015: 22 (he tends to believe the year was 172).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Danubian provinces, eventually reaching Achaia. After covering a great distance across Noviodunum, Dinogetia, Capidava, Histria, Tropaeum Traiani, Callatis, Durostorum, Apollonia, Messembria, Odessos, Serdica, Philippopolis, Anchialos, Elephesis – where it seems they may have left archaeological traces – the Costoboc "adventure" ended with the Battle of Elateia (Attica), where the *ad-hoc* formation comprising a *vexillatio* (led by L. Iulius Gratus Iulianus) and Greek volunteers (led by the champion of the 164 Olympic Games, Mnesioboulos) scored a crushing defeat against the invaders[90].

Some specialists believe that the Costoboci (upon hearing about the Hasdingi attacking their settlements) would have withdrawn and returned to their country[91]. I believe that this assumption is not reliable, given that it took a very long time in that period for a piece of news to be conveyed over a distance of more than 1,000 km; furthermore, the return of the attackers through a hostile region and haunted by the Romans would have been equally hard. Hence, the Costoboci would have ended up annihilated, captured or turned into slaves, or dispersed (the few of them not killed). The fact that the ancient authors recorded this event (of little importance in the entire history of the Empire) must have been due to the fact that the Roman elite members were very surprised by the invasion of insignificant groups inhabiting peaceful, faraway provinces (located at a great distance from the borders)[92].

From that moment on, there is no more mention of the Costoboci[93], except for the two indirect references to which I refer in the following lines. The first concerns the "12,000 Daci who had been driven out of their own territory" to whom the governors of the Three Dacians (180-182?, C. Vettius C.f. Voltinia Sabinianus Iulius Hospes) promised lands, and who came from the area near the Dacian *limes* (they do not seem to have been Costoboci, despite the opinion of certain specialists)[94].

---

90 PAUSANIAS X, 34, 5; SUCEVEANU, RĂDULESCU 2010: 305 (they tends to believe the year was 170).

91 POPA 2015: 22.

92 As proof that the Costobocian expedition had a spontaneous and limited character is the fact that the we do not know if the warriors were accompanied by families.

93 If we ignore their mere mention in AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS XXII, 8, 42; OPREANU 1994: 198; POPA 2015: 22.

94 DIO CASSIUS LXXII, 3; PISO 1993: 131-137; GUDEA 1994: 69, 76; OPREANU 1994: 196, 206; DUMITRAȘCU 2010: 473; BĂRBULESCU 2010: 86.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The second reference is even more difficult to analyse because it uses the term *Dacringi* to designate perhaps a new ethnic group made of the Dacians (Costoboci) and the Lacringi Vandals inhabiting the space to which I refer[95]. In my opinion, the term indicates the final phase of a mutual acculturation process that would have taken a long while (maybe even since the reign of Hadrian).

There is no more information concerning the subsequent periods, but, considering the archaeological characteristics discovered, it may be assumed that the cemeteries found in the village of Nemțișor (Braniște and Gura Secului) pertained to the *Dacringi*. It is also worth noting, though, that the Taifali are always featured in sources as allies of the Goths – to whom they provided the cavalry – until the late fourth century (following the Battle of Adrianople in 378); subsequently, they migrated to Northern Italy, and they settled in Aquitania, where a Taifali bishop was mentioned later[96]. Hence, we are facing a dilemma that is very hard to solve: either various Costoboci lived in symbiosis with some of the Lacringi/Taifali and were known as Dacringi[97], and others participated actively in the alliance led by the Goths, or this is a simple manuscript error of the ancient text[98].

Bibliography

Ancient sources

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS	*Istorie romană*, trans. D. Popescu, Cluj-Napoca, 1985.
BIBLIA *sau Sfânta Scriptură*	Ed. Institutului Biblic și de Misiune Ortodoxă, București, 2015.
DIO CASSIUS	*Istoria romană*, III, trans. Adelina Piatkowski, Cluj-Napoca, 1985.
DION CHRYSOSTOMOS	*Discursuri*, trans. R. Hîncu, V. C. Popescu, în: IIR, I, Ed. Academiei Române, Bucureşti, 1964.

95 DIO CASSIUS LXXII, 27, 5 (and the note 79); STANCIU 1995: 173; DUMITRAȘCU 1997: 314/343; GINDELE 2005: 134.

96 WOLFRAM 1990: 100-101, 127, 131, 240-241.

97 Some philologists believe that various regionalisms of the Romanian language attest to the cohabitation of the two ethnic groups – Dacian and Germanic – during the Antiquity (cf. PORUCIUC 2007: 349-355; PORUCIUC 2008: 255-256).

98 This paper represents the English version of the subchapter entitled *Pax romana la Dunărea de Jos* from the work: MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2022: 325-334.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

EUTROPIUS *Istoria romană*[2], trans. G. Popa-Lisseanu, Bucureşti, 1923.

SHA (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*) *Istoria Augustă,* trans. V. Iliescu, D. Popescu, 1971, Cluj.

PAUSANIAS *Descrierea Greciei*, trans. R. Hîncu, V. C. Popescu, in: IIR, Ed. Academiei Române, București, 1964, 618-621.

PLINIUS (the Elder) *Naturalis Historia. Enciclopedia cunoștințelor din Antichitate*, VII (trans. Ștefania Ferchedău); XI (trans. T. Dinu), XVI (trans. Ioana Costea), Ed. Polirom, Iași, 2001-2002.

PTOLEMY *Îndreptar geografic*, trans. R. Hîncu, V. C. Popescu, in: IIR, I, Ed. Academiei Române, București, 1964, 534-557.

STRABON *Geografia*, II, trans. Felicia Vanț-Ștef, 1974, Cluj-Napoca.

TACITUS *Annales*, trans. A. Marin, in: Tacitus, *Opere*, III, Ed. Științifică, București, 1964.

Studies and articles

BADIAN 1958 Badian, E., *Foreign clientalae (264-70 B.C.)*, Oxford.

BARAN 1961 Baran, V., *Поселення перших століть нашої ери біля села Черпин*, Kiiv.

BĂRBULESCU 2010 Bărbulescu, M., *Istoria politică*, in: D. Protase, A. Suceavanu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor*[2], II, Ed. Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 73-97.

BEMMANN 2003 Bemmann, J., *Romanisierte Barbaren oder erfolgreiche Plünderer? Anmerkungen zur Intensität, Form und Dauer des provinzialrömischen Einflusses auf Mitteldeutschland wärend des jüngeren Römischen Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit*, in: Bursche, A., Ciołek, R. (eds.), *Antyk i barbarzyńcy: księga dedykowana Professorowi Jerzemu Kolendo w siedemdziesiątą roknicę urodzin*, Warszawa, 63-108.

BICHIR 1973 Bichir, G., *Cultura carpică*, Ed. Academiei Române, București.

BIERBRAUER 1999 Bierbrauer, V., *Die ethnische Interpretation der Sîntana de Mureș-Černjachov-Kultur*, in: G. Gomolka-Fuchs (ed.), *Die Sîntana de Mureș-Černjachov-Kultur, Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Caputh vom 20. bis 24. Oktober 1995*, Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn, 211-238.

BRAUND 1984 Braund, D., *Rome and the Friendly King. The Character of the Client Kingship*, London-Canberra.

CIZEK 1980 Cizek, E., *Epoca lui Traian*, Ed. Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, Bucureşti.

CIZEK 1986 Cizek, E., *Secvență romană. Mijlocul secolului I al erei noastre*, Ed. Politică, București.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

CORTÉS COPETE 1995 Cortés Copete, M.., *La datación de la expeditión de los Costoboces: la subscripción fe XXII K. De Elo Aristides*, in: *Habis*, 26, 187-194.

ČIGILIK 1975 Čigilik, V. M., *Населенни Верхнього Поднісровья перших століть нашої ери*, Kiiv.

DIACONU 1964 Diaconu, Gh., *Despre taifali în lumina cercetărilor arheologice (aspectul Tîrgșor-Olteni)*, in: *SCIVA*, XV, 4, 467-484.

DIACONU 1965 Diaconu, Gh., *Tîrgșor. Necropola din secolele III-IV e. n.*, Ed. Academiei Române, București.

DICULESCU 1923a Diculescu, C., *Die Wandalen und die Goten in Ungarn und Rumänien*, Mannus Bibliothek, 34, Leipzig.

DICULESCU 1923b Diculescu, C., *Die Gepiden: Forschungen zur Geschichte Daziens im Frühen Mittelalter und zur Vorgeschichte des Rumänischen Volkes*, C. Kabitsch, Leipzig.

DOBIÁS 1960 Dobiás, J., *À propos de l'expeditio suebica et sarmatica de l'empereur Hadrien en l'an 118*, in: *Omagiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu cu prlejul împlinirii a 60 de ani*, Bucureşti, 147-151.

DUMITRAȘCU 1997 Dumitrașcu, S., *Omnis Barbaria*, in: N. Gudea, (ed.), *Römer und Barbaren an den Grenzen des Römisches Dakiens/Romani și barbari la frontierele Daciei romane*, Zalău, 305-334/335-366.

DUMITRAȘCU 2010 Dumitrașcu, S., *Dacia vestică și nord-vestică (secolele II-IV)*, in: D. Protase, A. Suceveanu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor*[2], II, Ed. Enciclopedică, București, 471-480.

ELTON 1996 Elton, H., *Defining Romans, Barbarians, and the Roman Frontier*, in: R. W. Mathisen, H. S. Sivan, (eds.), *Shifting Frontier in Late Antiquity*, Aldershot-Brookfield, 126-135.

FLORESCU 1985 Florescu, R., *Granițele Daciei la Ptolemeu*, in: *Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos. Contribuții*, Călărași, 53-59.

FLORESCU, CĂPTANU 1969 Florescu, M., Căpitanu, V., *Cercetări arheologice de suprafață în județul Bacău*, in: *ArhMold*, VI, 213–275.

GINDELE 2005 Gindele, R., *Stadiul cercetărilor din epoca romană şi prima epocă a migraţiilor din Bazinului Tisei Superioare*, in: *Studii și comunicări Satu Mare*, Seria Arheologie, 22-1, Satu Mare, 117-148.

GOSTAR 1969 Gostar, N., *Cetățile dacice din Moldova și cek de-al doilea război dacic*, in: *MemAntiq*, 1, 93-104.

GUDEA 1994 Gudea, N., *Dacia Porolissensis în timpul războaielor marcomanice*, in: *AMP*, XVIII, 67-93.

HEUSS 1953 Heuss, A., *Amicitia. Untersuchungen zu den rechtlichen Grundlagen der römischen Außenpolitik*, Leipzig.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

HOREDT 1960 Horedt, K., *Lupta de la Galtis lîngă Auha*, in: *Omagiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu cu prilejul împlinirii a 60 de ani*, Ed. Academiei Române, București, 287-291.

IGNAT 1970 Ignat, M., *Necropola de la Zvorîștea*, in: *SCIVA*, XXI, 4, 675-682.

IONIȚĂ 1982 Ioniță, I., *Din istoria și civilizația dacilor liberi. Dacii din spațiul est-carpatic în secolele II-IV e.n.*, Ed. Junimea, Iași.

IONIȚĂ, URSACHI 1988 I. Ioniță, V. Ursachi, *Văleni. O mare necropolă a dacilor liberi*, Ed. Junimea, Iaşi.

JÄNICHEN 1938 Jänichen, H., *Die Wandalen in der Heldensage*, in: *Altschlesien*, 7, 254-262.

KEHNE 1994 Kehne, P., *Das Instrumentarium kaiserzeitlicher Außenpolitik und die Ursachen der Markomannenkriege*, in: Friesinger, H., Tejral, J., Stuppner, A. (eds.), *Markomannenkriege – Ursachen und Wirkungen, VI. Internationales Symposium "Grundprobleme der frühgeschichten Entwicklungen im nördlichen Mitteldonaugebiet", Wien 23.-26. November 1993*, Brno, 39-50.

KEHNE 2009 Kehne, P., *Zur Phänomenologie, Typologie und völkerrechtlichen Grundlage internationaler Massendeportationen in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, in: *Marburger Beitr.Ant.*, 26, 75 – 138.

KLOSE 1934 Klose, J., *Roms Klientel-Randstaaten am Rhein und an der Donau. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte und rechtlichen Stellung im 1. Und 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Historische Untersuchung, 14. Heft, Breslau.

KOKOWSKI 2011 Kokowski, A., *The Goths in ca. 311 AD*, in: A. Kaliff, L. Munkhammar (eds.), *Wulfila 311-2011. International Symposium. Uppsala University June 15-18, 2011*, "Acta Biblithecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis", t. XLVIII, Occasional Papers in Archaeology, 57, 71-96.

KOLENDO, TRYNKOWSKI 1998 Kolendo, J., Trynkowski, I., *La main votive dolichénienne trouvée à Myszków et les butins de guerre des Barbares*, in: *Novensia*, 10, 1998, 251–264.

KOTIGOROŠKO 1995 Kotigoroško, V., *Ținuturile Tisei Superioare în veacurile III î. e. n. – IV e. n. Perioadele La Tène și romană)*, Biblioteca Thracologica XI, S. C. Caro Trading '94 S.R.L., București.

LUTTWAK 1976 Luttwak, E. N., *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century A.D. to the Third*, John Hopkins U.P., Baltimore and London.

MACREA 1970 Macrea, M., *Viața în Dacia romană*, Ed. Ştiinţifică, Bucureşti.

MANN 1979 Mann, J. C., *Power, Force and the Frontiers of the Empire*, in: *JRS*, 69, 175-183.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

MATEI-POPESCU 2010 Matei-Popescu, F., *The Roman Army in Moesia Inferior*, Centre for Roman Military Studies 7, Bucharest.

MATEI-POPESCU, ȚENTEA 2006 Matei-Popescu, F., Țentea, O., *Participation of the Auxiliary Troops from Moesia Superior in Trajan's Dacian Wars*, in: *Dacia*, 50, 127-140.

MATEI-POPESCU, ȚENTEA 2016 Matei-Popescu, F., Țentea, O., *The Eastern Frontier of Dacia. A Gazetteer of the Forts and Units*, in: V. Bârcă (ed.), *Orbis Romanus and Barbaricum. The Barbarians around the Province of Dacia and Their Relations with the Roman Empire*, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 7-24.

MAYERSON 1989 Mayerson, P., *The Meaning of the Word Limes (λίμιτον) in the Papyri*, in: *ZPE*, 77, 287-291.

MILLAR *et al.* 1967 Millar, F., Berciu, D., Frye, R. N., Kossack, G., Talbot Rice, T., *The Roman Empire and its Neighbours*, New-York – London.

MILLER 1996 Miller, D, H., *Frontier Societis*, in: R. W. Mathisen, H. S. Sivan (eds.), *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, Aldershot – Brookfield, 158-171.

MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1980 Mihailescu-Bîrliba, V., *Un nouveau groupe culturel sur le territoire de Roumanie. Les fouilles de Branişte – Nemţişor (com. de Vînători, dép. de Neamţ)*, in: *Dacia*, N. S., XXIV, 181-207.

MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1986 Mihailescu-Bîrliba, V., *Ethnical Elements in "the Carpathian Tumuli Culture"*, in: *Archaeological "Objectivity" in Interpretation*, vol. I, *The World Archaeological Congress, 1-7 September 1986*, Southampton, 10 p. + 5 pl.

MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1997a Mihailescu-Bîrliba, V., *The Carpathian barrows culture / Cultura tumulilor carpatici*, in: *AMP*, XXI, 833-841/843-878.

MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1997b Mihailescu-Bîrliba, V., *Noi date privind cultura tumulilor carpatici în România*, in: *SCIVA*, XLVIII, 4, 309-339.

MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1999 Mihailescu-Bîrliba, V., *Die Karpatische Hügelgräberkultur in Rumänien*, in: S. Czopek, A. Kokowski, A. (eds.), *Na granicach antycznego swiata. Sytuacja kulturowa w poludniowo-wschodniej Polsce i regionach sasiednich w mlodszym okresie przedrzymskim i okresie rzymskim. Materialy z konferencji – Rzeszów, 20-21 XI 1997*, Rzeszów, 313-332.

MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2022 Mihailescu-Bîrliba, V., *Cimitirele antice de la Nemțișor și Târzia din județul Neamț. Contribuții privitoare la cunoașterea obiceiurilor funerare din Cultura tumulilor carpatici*, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca.

MUCH 1926 Much, R., *Der Name Silingi*, in: *Altschlesien*, I, 3/4, 117-121.

MUNTEANU, HONCU, Munteanu, L., Honcu, Ș., Aparaschivei, D., *On the Chronology of Roman Coins in Barbaricum. Denarii Finds from the Site of Schineni*

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

APARASCHIVEI 2021 *(Bacău County)*, in: V. Cojocaru, A.-I. Pázsint (eds.), *Migration and Identity in Eurasia from Ancient Times to the Middle Ages*, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 139-165.

OLTEAN 2007 Oltean, I. A., *Dacia. Landscape, Colonisation, Romanisation*, Routledge, London and New York.

OPREANU 1994 Opreanu, C. H., *Neamurile barbare de la frontierele Daciei romane și relațiile lor politico-diplomatice cu Imperiul*, in: *EphemNapoc*, IV, 193-229.

OPREANU 1997 Opreanu, C. H., *Vestul Dacie Romane și Barbaricum în epoca lui Traian*, in: M. Bărbulescu (ed.), *Civilizația romană în Dacia*, Bibliotheca Rerum Transsilvanae, Cluj-Napoca, 28-51.

OPREANU 1998 Opreanu, C. H., *Dacia Romană și barbaricum*, Ed. Mirton, Tmișoara.

PÂRVAN 1926 Pârvan, V., *Getica. O încercare de protoistorie a Daciei în mileniul I a. Chr.*, *AARMSI*, București.

PEKÁRY 1987 Pekáry, T., Seditio. *Unruhen und Revolten im Römischen Reich von Augustus bis Commodus*, in: *Ancient Society*, 18, 133-150.

PETIT 1974 Petit, P., *Histoire générale de l'Empire romain (I. Le Haut-Empire)*, Éd. du Seuil, Paris.

PETOLESCU 1995 Petolescu, C. C., *La victoire de Trajan en Mésie Inférieure*, in: *Thraco-Dacica*, XVI/1-2, 223-226.

PETOLESCU 2002 Petolescu, C. C., *Auxilia Dacae. Contribuție la istoria militară a Daciei romane*, Ed. Ars Docendi, București.

PIGANIOL 1963 Piganiol, A., *La notion de limes*, in: *Quintus Congressus Internationalis Limitis Romani Studiosorum, Diebus 17-23 Septembris anii 1961, Arheološki Radovi i Raprave*, 3, Zagreb, 119-122.

PIPPIDI 1967 Pippidi, D. M., *Contribuții la istoria veche a României*[2], Ed. Științifică, București.

PISO 1993 Piso, I., *Fasti Provinciae Daciae I. Die senatorischen Amtsträger*, Bonn.

PISO 2019 Piso, I., *Les beneficiarii consularis de Samum*, in: L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, W. Spickermann, W. (eds.), *Roman Army and Local Society in the Limes Provincesc of the Roman Empire. Papers of an International Conference, Iași, June 4th–6uh. 2018*, Verlag Marie Leidorf mbH, Rahden/Westf., 109-129.

PITTS 1989 Pitts, L., *Relations between Rome and the German ‚Kings' on the Middle Danube in the First to Fourth Centuries A.D.*, in: *JRS*, 79, 45-58.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

POPA 2015 Popa, A., *Untersuchungen zu den Römisch-Barbarischen Kontakten östlich der Römischen Provinz Dacia*, Antiquitatis 3, Dr. Rudolf Habelt GMBH, Bonn.

POPESCU 1964 Popescu, E., *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Tropaeum Traiani*, in: *StCl*, VI, 192-199.

PORUCIUC 2007 Poruciuc, A., *Rom.* Gard – *un vechi germanism și implicațiile sale lingvistice și istorice*, in: *ArhMold*, XXX, 343-357.

PORUCIUC 2008 Poruciuc, A., *Termenul regional românesc "huscă" (sare obținută prin evaporarea apei sărate), explicat ca vechi germanism*, in: *ArhMold*, XXXI, 253-257.

POULTER 1990 Poulter, A. G., *Frontier People beyond and behind the Limes: the Impact of the Native Population upon the Lower Danubian Frontier*, in: Vetters, H., Kandler, M. (eds.), *Akten des 14. Internationalen Limeskongresses 1986 in Carnuntum*, Teil 1, *Des römische Limes in Österreich*, Heft 36/1, Wien, 143-150.

PREMERSTEIN 1912 von Premerstein, A., *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Markus. II. Seezüge der Nordpomtusvölke und der Mauren. Der Einfall der Kostoboken*, in: *Klio*, 12, 138-178.

PROTASE 2010a Protase, D., *Organizarea administrativă*, in: D. Protase, A. Suceveanu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor*[2], II, Ed. Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 45-72.

PROTASE 2010b Protase, D., *Organizarea militară*, in: D. Protase, A. Suceveanu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor*[2], II, Ed. Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 99-136.

PROTASE 2010c Protase, D., *Populaţia*, in: D. Protase, A. Suceveanu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor*[2], II, Ed. Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 137-162.

PROTASE 2010d Protase, D., *Viaţa economică*, in: D. Protase, A. Suceveanu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor*[2], II, Ed. Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 173-208.

ROSTOVTSEFF 1988 Rostovtseff, M. I., *Histoire économique et sociale de L'Émpire Romain*, Ed. Robert Lafonte, Paris

SANIE 2010 Sanie, S., *Moesia nord-dunăreană și nord-pontică*, in: D. Protase, A. Suceveanu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor*[2], II, Ed. Enciclopedică, Bucureşti,403-418.

SMIŠKO 1932 Smiško, M., *Kulltury wczesnego okresu epoki cesarstwa rzymskiego w Małoposlce wschodniej*, Lwow.

STANCIU 1995 Stanciu, I., *Contribuţii la cunoaşterea epocii romane în bazinul mijlociu şi inferior al Someşului*, în *EphemNapoc*, 5, 139–226.

SUCEVEANU, RĂDULESCU 2010 Suceveanu, A., Rădulescu, A., *Istoria politică*, in: D. Protase, A. Suceveanu (coord.), *Istoria Românilor*[2], II, Ed. Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 297-311.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

SYME 1971 Syme, S., *Danubian Papers*, Association Internationale d'Études du Sud-Est Européen, București.

ȘTEFAN 2005 Ștefan, A. S., *Les guerres daciques de Domitien et de Trajan: architecture militaire, topographie, mages et d'histoire*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 353, Rome.

TAUSEND 1997 Tausend, K., *Lugier – Vandilier – Vandalen*, in: *Tyche*, 12, 229-236.

TKAČI 2013 Tkači, E., *Костобоки в Маркоманских войнах*, in: *Revista Arheologică*, s. n., IX/2, 85-103.

TUDOR 1957 Tudor, D., *Răscoale şi atacuri „barbare" în Dacia romană*, Ed. Ştiinţifică, Bucureşti.

ȚENTEA 2016 Țentea, I., *About the Roman Frontiero n the Lower Danube under Trajan*, in: A. Panaite, R. Cîrjan, C. Căpiță (eds.), *Moesica et Cristiana. Studies in Honor of Professor Alexandru Barnea*, Ed. Istros, Brăila, 85-93.

URBAŃCZYK 1998 Urbańczyk, P., *The Goths in Poland – where did they come from and when did they leave?*, in: *European Journal of Archaeology*, I-3, Cambridge, 397-413.

VAKULENKO 2007-2008 Vakulenko, L., *The Eastern Carpathians in the Late Roman Period*, in: *AAC*, 42-43, 141-183.

VAKULENKO 2009 Vakulenko, L., *Народ Тайфалів та археологічна культура*, in: K. Myzgin, (ed.), *Ostrogothica. Archäologie des Zentral- und Osteuropas in der Späten Römischen Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit*, Charkow, 222-230.

VAKULENKO 2010 Vakulenko, L., *Українські Карпати у пізньоримський час (етнокультурні та соціально-економічні процеси)*, Київ.

VASMER 1935-1936 Vasmer, M., *Der Name Schlesiens*, in: *Altschelesien*, 6, 1, 1-15.

VULPE 1968 Vulpe, R., *Perioada Principatului (Sec. I-III)*, in: R. Vulpe, I. Barnea (eds.), *Din istoria Dobrogei*, II (*Romanii la Dunărea de Jos*), Ed. Academiei Române, București, 13-365.

VULPE 1976a Vulpe, R., *Dion Cassius et la campagne de Trajan en Mésie Infériore*, in: *Studia Tracologica*, Ed. Academiei Române, București, 234-265.

VULPE 1976b Vulpe, R., *Les Bures alliés de Decebale dans la première guerre dacique de Trajan*, in: *Studia Tracologica*, Ed. Academiei Române, București, 199-233.

WALSER 1979 Walser, G., *La notion de frontière chez les Romains*, in: *Frontières et contacts de civilisation*, Colloque universitaires franco-suisse,

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Besançon-Neuchatêl, octobre 1977, Les passé présent. Études et documents d'histoire, Neuchatêl, 41-47.

WILKES 1963 Wilkes, J. J., *Romans, Dacians and Sarmatians in the First and Early Second Centuries*, in: B. Hartley, J. Wacher (eds.), *Rome and her northern Provinces. Papers presented to Sheppard Frere*, Gloucester.

WOLFRAM 1990 Wolfram, H., *Die Goten: von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 6. Jahrhundertts; Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie*[3], Beck, München.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Fig. 1. Lipica culture ceramics (SMIŠKO 1932, pl. VII).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

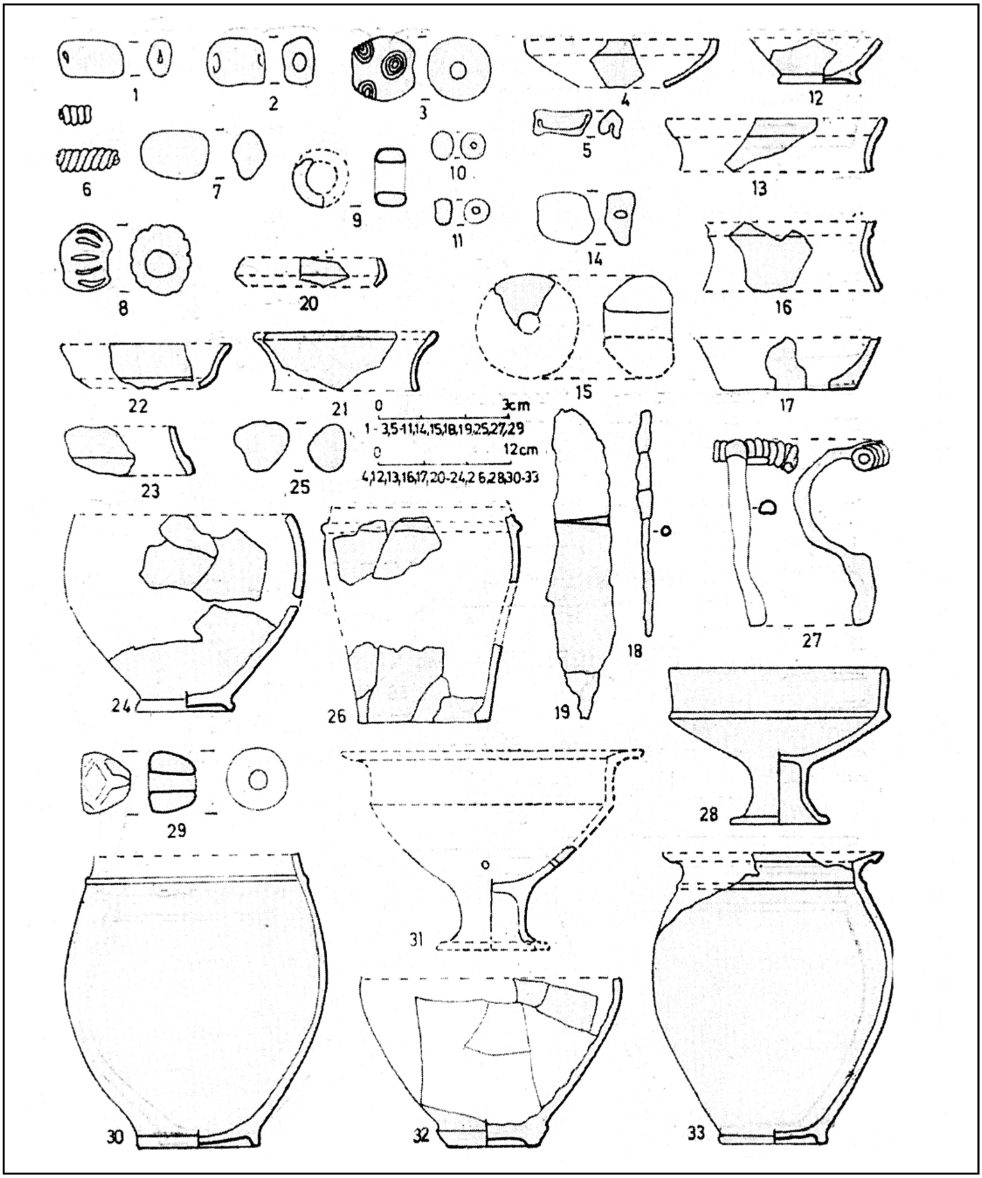


Fig. 2. Ceramics from the "Carpic" necropolis from Văleni (IONIȚĂ, URSACHI 1988, fig. 21).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Salt exploitation in Roman Dacia. Old and new researches: a short overview

LUCREȚIU MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA*

Abstract. The author proposes several points of view for the study of salt exploitation in Roman Dacia. He analyzes these researches from the perspective of chronology (the oldest until the newest researches), a methodology (archaeological, ethnoarchaeological and epigraphic researches) and from the importance of salt resources in the province (economic, social and strategic).

Keywords: *salt exploitation, Roman Dacia, Roman administration, Roman army.*

The salt resources are strongly connected with saltworks and salt exploitation in Roman Dacia. When Dacia became a Roman province, the subsoil resources were automatically under the direct control of the Roman state. The central administration, however, leased the exploitation to wealthy private persons, very probably of equestrian rank.

The evidences of Roman salt exploitation and administration in Dacia are scarce, but all information put together can offer a relatively coherent image on this economic side of the province.

First of all, one can notice the pre-Roman salt exploitations. Salt resources existed a very long time ago and are still in function. I am just mentioning the Neolithic exploitations next to the future Dacia, in Moldavia, in sites like Poiana Slatinei, belonging to Criș culture (6050-5000 BC)[1],

* Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași, Faculty of History; blucretiu@uaic.ro

[1] WELLER *et al.* 2007: 99-113. See also WELLER *et al.* 2011: 77; WELLER *et al.* 2015: 125-127.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Hălăbutoaia-Țolici[2] or Slatina-Cozla-Gîrcina[3], Solca (Slatina Mare)[4], Siliște-Prohozești[5], Poduri-Dealu Ghindaru[6].

The surveys and the excavations made in Transylvania offered important information on salt exploitation in Bronze Age. The most spectacular results are those from Băile Figa[7], but we must not ignore the researches carried out at Olteni[8], Săsarm[9], Caila[10], Blăjenii de Jos[11] and probably Pinticul Tecii[12], Dumitra[13], and Orșova[14].

But from our research interest, the most important results of the researches carried out in pre-historic sites were the evidence of salt exploitation in the Iron Age, preceding the Roman conquest. These evidences appear at Băile Figa[15], Olteni[16], and Mărtiniș[17]. At Olteni and Mărtiniș these results are not surprisingly, taking into account that in the area were found Roman sherds or Latin inscriptions. At Băile Figa, however, no fragment of Roman pottery has been found. A late XVIIIth century source, the map of the myneralogist Fichtel, provides salt resources which were exploited from prehistory: Blăjenii de Jos, Figa, Caila, Dumitra, Pinticu Tecii, Mărtiniș, Orșova. Besides, Fichtel mention the sites already known as being exploited in Roman period: Turda, Ocna Mureș, Sic, Dej, Cojocna, Ocna Sibiului, Ocnele Mari[18].

---

2 DANU, GAUTHIER, WELLER 2010: 163-173; WELLER *et al.* 2015: 127-129; BRIGAND, WELLER 2015: 157-179.

3 WELLER *et al.* 2015: 129.

4 NICOLA *et al.* 2007: 47-51.

5 CHAPMAN, MONAH 2007: 71-88. See also MUNTEANU, GARVĂN 2011: 81-87, MONAH 2015: 111-124

6 MONAH, DUMITROAIA, NICOLA 2008: 81-82.

7 HARDING, KAVRUK 2013: 47-127.

8 SZÉKELY 1993: 279-282; BUZEA, (CHIRICESCU) DEÁK 2008: 55-65; HARDING, KAVRUK 2013: 42.

9 HARDING, KAVRUK 2013: 129-135.

10 HARDING, KAVRUK 2013: 138-140.

11 HARDING, KAVRUK 2013: 141.

12 HARDING, KAVRUK 2013: 144.

13 CHINTĂUAN, RUSU 1988: 252-253.

14 CHIRICESCU 2006: 164-165.

15 HARDING, KAVRUK 2013: 59-60.

16 BUZEA, (CHIRICESCU) DEÁK 2008: 55-58, 64-65; HARDING, KAVRUK 2013: 42.

17 HARDING, KAVRUK 2013: 42.

18 See especially MOSCAL 2018: 1-11.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The techniques were those of digging shafts onto the rock salt, in order to extract lumps of rock, and of collecting brine from the stream, in order to obtain by evaporation. In any case, the Dacians have used the site and exploited it. Even if there is no evidence of Roman exploitation in Băile Figa, Săsarm, Caila, Blăjenii de Jos, Pinticul Tecii, Dumitra, Orșova, the re-using of the salt springs in post-Roman time or the mention of its functionality under the Habsburg Empire suggest that the inhabitants used the old structures for salt production or they collected the salt directly from the stream also in Roman period: the production was probably less significant than in pre-history and even after the Roman occupation.

The coming of Rome in Dacia means the organization of salt administration. One can remark that the archaeological investigations provide only a few evidences of the exploitation (except the large *salinae* of Potaissa-Turda, Ocna Mureș and Ocnele Mari-Buridava). The epigraphic record is not very rich, too, but the quality of information is, in my opinion, significant.

Firstly, as with any other underground exploitation, the saltworks were attributed to the imperial fiscus and leased to leaseholders (*conductores*). Throughout time, these notables leased alongside the saltworks also the pastures and, in some instances, the commercial activities related to them. The pastures appear together with *salinae* because the extraction of salt was in connexion with the cattle food. The administration of both salt mines and pastures was in reponsibility of one person. On the other hand, one cannot necessarily think at *salinae* only in the sense of salt mines. N. Morère Molinero has remarked the numerous occurrences of the Iberian Peninsula[19]. The signification of this term by Pliny is related to wells and to both processes of exploitation and production[20].

The archaeological context corroborated with the various mentions of the term *salinae* led M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni and C. Morelli to conclude that *salinae* signified both the production place and storage places and sales tax[21]. They think that Iulius Omucio, freedman of the *conductor* C. Iulius

[19] MORÈRE MOLINERO 2011: 157 sqq.
[20] MORÈRE MOLINERO 2011: 157-158.
[21] CEBEILLAC-GERVASONI, MORELLI 2014: 26.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Valentinus is a person who represents the interests of his patron in salt trade[22]. Though the first *conductor* is attested after the rule of Hadrian, but in a moment when Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa was still the only *colonia* in Dacia, it follows that the organization of the salt exploitation by the Roman state was carried out if not immediately after the freshly-conquered Dacia was converted into a Roman province, then shortly after. Salt exploitations (underground or surface) were documented since the La Tène period and, as we have seen, some of them likely continued operations under the Romans. The province of Dacia is one in which the salt exploitations are numerous, being well-documented both archaeologically and epigraphically. Furthermore, **Dacia is the only Latin-speaking province** in which *conductores salinarum* have been documented so far. These *conductores* are attested epigraphically from the 2nd century until the Severan age. The epigraphic record shows that besides residing in the provincial capital (where the administrative offices of this economic sector were located), many of these notables also acted on the field. Additionally, the lower-ranking functionaries were definitely located in the areas of exploitation, thus being extremely in the know with respect to the domain. These functionaries were in fact members of the leaseholders' *familiae*, their own slaves and freedmen. Most are designated as *actores* (agents), with responsibilities bestowed upon them by their masters of patrons on account of the proved abilities and of the trust they enjoyed in the eyes of their current or former *domini*. The title of *conductor pascui, salinarum et commerciorum* bore by P. Aelius Strenuus[23] argues for the hypothesis that a leaseholder was also responsible for the commercial activities related to these economic sectors. In Streenus' case, this hypothesis is confirmed: that he is, among others, the *patronus collegii nautarum* shows that his interests also touched on the transportation of goods. Similarly, the other *conductores* were also involved in commercializing salt, even if their titles do not make specific mentions in this regard. Furthermore, the proximity of the salt-exploitation areas to the *limes* allows for the hypothesis of a trade with *Barbaricum*. The attested presence of a *centurio regionarius* in the Domnești area and the mention of a *regio*

---

[22] CEBEILLAC-GERVASONI, MORELLI 2014: 27.

[23] IDR III/5, 443.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Neridonis (…?)[24] indicates, on the one hand, the organization of such an administrative unit in an area near the *limes*, but also having an economic sector attached to the imperial fiscus, and, on the other hand, the protection of the administrative unit by *regionarius*. With respect to the commercialization of salt, it is not excluded that the *conductores* also carried out private commercial activities for his own profit (though we lack evidence in this sense); he organizes at least part of the trade in this commodity.

The lower-ranking personnel of the salt exploitations are *servi* and *liberti* of the *conductores*. I already stated that this is not by chance, nor surprising[25]. The lessees preferred to manage people they could trust, above all from their slaves and freedmen. On the other hand, one can remark that the slaves and freedmen of *conductores* are involved in the customs administration, acting especially as *vilici*.

We see thus that it was customary for the leaseholders of the saltworkss to hire they own slaves and freedmen (foremost slaves), on the basis of proved competences and the trust bestowed upon them by the masters or patrons. Considering the importance of this economic sector both for the army and for the economy of the province, they employed the people they trusted professionally the most, namely their own *servi* and former slaves. In a single case (the one from Tibiscum), a link in the saltwork administration between Hermadio, *actor* of Turranius Dius, and the leaseholder P. Aelius Marius cannot be proved, though it also cannot be excluded[26]. However, the text proved once again that a *conductor* can manage also salt business; Hermadio, as agent of Turranius Dius, work for his master in the salt trade business. It is true that the text does not mention P. Aelius Marius's quality as *conductor pascui et salinarum*, and it is probable that he had private commercial relations with Turranius Dius. In any case, a *conductor* must have also had this competency in understanding and promoting the trade in the product or products yielded by a leased domain. The two inscriptions throw light on these trade competences that a lessee

[24] PISO, CUPCEA 2014: 115-123.

[25] MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2019a; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2019b; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA2022a; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2022b; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, ASĂNDULESEI 2019; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, ALEXIANU 2021.

[26] IDR III/1: 145.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

had to possess, even if it's not clear whether P. Aelius Marius only had private businesses with Turranius Dius or also acted in his capacity of *conductor*.This kind of business is suggested by another text set by Hermadio at Potaissa[27], where the salt exploitation was known.

The salt exploitations were defended by th Roman army. I showed that one cannot exaggerate the missions of the army. We have to concede the first place to the defence of the province and mainly of the frontiers and strategic points. The camps were situated in a prioritary strategic postion, in order to defend important places of the province (river gorges, mountain's passes, the frontier with Barbaricum). However, I think that Roman administration have thought to place these *castra* in such a way that the army could control and defend the strategic points and the salt exploitations in the same time. The salt resources were used as supply for the army, too.

There were two main types of salt resources: the salt springs and the rock salt deposits. In both cases, the maps I have provided show that the distance between the salt resources and the military camps does not exceed 20 km. There were important salt exploitation controlled both by auxiliary units and by sub-units of the main legions (*legio XIII Gemina* and *legio V Macedonica*). At Salinae, for example. the most frequent mentions are of *magistri figlinarum* of *legio XIII Gemina*. Even if a *castrum* of a military unit has not been discovered on field, the presence of soldiers in mission is beyond any doubt. The *castrum* from Războieni–*Cetate* was closer to Salinae than Apulum; however, the number of soldiers from the legion and the power of the legion proved that this territory had a double control: by the *legio XIII Gemina* and by the *ala I Batavorum*. The salt exploitations from Turda were the most important in Dacia; before the coming of the Vth Macedonica legion, the exploitation was already carried out. Surely, a military presence is not much epigraphically attested, but the brick stamps of the XIIIth Gemina legion show that this legion controlled all the important mines until 170. After that, the presence of the *legio V Macedonica* not only assured the frontier's control, but also the mines' defence.

Other mines were also defended by auxiliary units (like Ocna Dejului, Ocna Sibiului and Ocnele Mari). The *ala II Pannoniorum*:

---

[27] ILD 492.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

(accommodated at Gherla) assured the control of Ocna Dejului mines, but also of the salt surface resources from Sic and Cojocna. At Ocna Sibiului, units like tile- and brick- n the *legio XIII Gemina*, *cohors I Alpinorum*, and *cohors Numidarum* are attested. Their presence is confirmed by the existence of a small camp. The *cohors I Alpinorum* (accommodated at Sărățeni) defended the salt mines from Sovata. Many units which had their camp in Inlăceni (*cohors VIII Raetorum c. R. eq. torq.*[28], *cohors III Hispanorum* and likely *cohors I Alpinorum* and *cohors II Gallorum*) defended the mines from Praid.

The salt springs were also taken into army's attention, very likely the most important ones. Domnești was a such example. The inscriptions attested both clerks and militaries. The *centurio regionarius* mentioned at Domnești had police duties with both pastures and the saltworks[29]. Not far from Domnești, Ilișua was for a long time the camp for *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, while at Orheiul Bistriței was accommodated the *cohors I Hispanorum milliaria equitata*. Another important zone with salt spring was that of Sânpaul-Mărtiniș-Ocland. At Sânpaul is mentioned an administrative clerk[30], but there are also bricks bearing the name *n(umerus) M(aurorum) S(---)*. At Ocland the archaeological excavation revealed a fortlet; an inscription of a *beneficiarius consularis* found at Crăciunel (the same village) revealed a *statio* of *beneficiarii* controlling a road of salt exploiation (Ocland-Mărtiniș). Olteni was the camp of a probable *c(ohors) IIII Bel(garum)*: the zone is quite rich in salt-springs.

As one can notice, even the stategic role of the units was put in the first place, the defence of salt exploitation was not at all neglected. The salt supply of the units was another important military objective. So, in this respect, the presence of the army next to salt resources is perfectly explainable through the importance of this resource not only for the province, but for the *exercitus* itself. It is hardly to say if rock salt was also used, like B. Moinier stated, for the leather treatment of the tents, treatment which was practised by auxiliary units in march[31], but this fact cannot be excluded.

---

[28] IDR III/4: 263. See also PETOLESCU 2002: 119-120, no 54.
[29] PISO, CUPCEA 2014: 115-123.
[30] IDR III/4: 238.
[31] MOINIER 2013: 367-388.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Another proof that the largest rock salt resources of Dacia were the object of mining activities is represented by the divinities worshipped in the salt exploitation zones are related directly (like Terra Mater) or indirectly (like Liber and Libera, Silvanus, Diana) with mining activities. The mention of these divinities shows indirectly, in my opinion, that mining was carried out at Ocna Mureş and Potaissa.

The importance of salt resources in Roman Dacia is beyond any doubt. Moreover, the production of salt was rigorously organized by Romans. I stated that not only the rock salt deposits were exploited, but also the salt springs. The inscriptions attest not only the administrative organization, but also the fact that the inferior clerks were often on the grounds, in order to survey the exploitation. We should not exaggerate the role of the army in defending the salt exploitation, because the strategic purposes came first; however, the army did not only defend the salt mines or springs, but they actually needed the salt both for soldiers' use and for the horses.

For the richness of salt resources, Dacia appears like a special province in the organization in its administration. In fact, from the Roman economic point of view, there is nothing special: that is how the Romans organized the economic fields which seem for them profitable. The archaeological evidences are scarce, but we can suppose that in some cases (especially those of salt springs) the habitation was not exactly next to the salt spring and the techniques were similar with those used in the Iron Age by the Dacian population. Finally, I have recommended archaeological investigations at least at Sânpaul and Livezile, but identification of new salt resources can enhance this research area.

Acknowledgment. This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research, CNCS - UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-0383, within PNCDI III.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Bibliography

BRIGAND, WELLER 2015 Brigand, R., Weller, O., *Spatial analysis for salt archaeology: a case study from Moldavian Neolithic (Romania)*, in: R. Brigand, O. Weller (eds.), *Archaeology of salt. Approaching an invisible past*, Leiden, 157-179.

BUZEA, (CHIRICESCU) DEÁK 2008 Buzea, D., (Chiricescu) Deák, A., *Cercetările etno-arheologice de la Olteni (jud. Covasna)*, in: D. Monah, Gh. Dumitroaia, D. Garvăn (eds.), *Sarea, de la prezent la trecut*, Piatra Neamț, 41-79.

CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI, MORELLI 2014 Cébeillac-Gervasoni, M., Morelli, C., Les *conductores* du *Campus Salinarum Romanarum*, in: *MEFRA*, 126 (1), 23-33.

CHAPMAN, MONAH 2007 Chapman, J., Monah, D., *A Seasonal Cucuteni Occupation at Siliște-Prohozești, Romania*, in: D. Monah, Gh. Dumitroaia, O. Weller, J. Chapman (eds.), *L'exploitation du sel à travers le temps*, Piatra Neamț, 71-88.

CHINTĂUAN, RUSU 1988 Chintăuan, I., Rusu, I., *Considerații cu privire la utilizarea sării și a apelor sărate din nord-estul Transilvaniei (județul Bistrița-Năsăud)*, in: *File de Istorie*, 5, 238-278.

CHIRICESCU 2006 Chiricescu, A., *Repertoriul selectiv al fântânilor de apă sărată din estul Transilvaniei*, in: V. Cavruc, A. Chiricescu (eds.), *Sarea, Timpul și Omul*, Sfântu Gheorghe, 164-167.

DANU, GAUTHIER, WELLER 2010 Danu, M., Gauthier, E., Weller, O., *Human impact and vegetation history on salt spring exploitation (Hălăbutoaia-Țolici, Petricani, Neamț, Romania)*, in: *International Journal of Conservation Science*, 1, 3, 163-173.

HARDING, KAVRUK 2013 Harding, A., Kavruk, V., *Transylvania*, in: A. Harding, V. Kavruk (eds.), *Exploration in Salt Archaeology in the Carpathian Zone*, Budapest, 41-153.

MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2019a Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., *Salt exploitation in Roman Dacia. A Larger Overview*, in: L. Mihailescu-Birliba, W. Spickermann (eds.), *Roman Army and Local Society in the Limes Provinces of the Roman Empire. Papers of an International Conference, Iași, June 4th–6th, 2018*, Rahden (Westf.), 163-186.

MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2019b Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., *Salt exploitation in Roman Dacia. Modern sources and new archaeological surveys*, in: *AMN*, LVI/I, 135-144.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2022a Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., *Roman army and salt exploitation in Sânpaul-Mărtiniș-Ocland area*, in: *JAHA*, 9, 1, 95-107.

MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2022b Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., *Salt administration in Roman Dacia. An overview*, in: J. Boardman, J. Hargrave, A. Avram, A. V. Podossinov (eds.), *Connecting Ancient West and East. Studies Presented to Prof. Gocha R. Tsetskhladze*, Leuven-Paris-Bristol CT, 145-156.

MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, ALEXIANU 2021 Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., Alexianu, M., *Salt exploitation and Roman army in Dacia: The Ocna Dejului-Sic-Cojocna-Gherla area*, in: L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, I. Dumitrache (eds.), *Persevera lucere. Studia in memoriam Octaviani Bounegru*, Wiesbaden, 119-124.

MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, ASĂNDULESEI 2019 Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., Asăndulesei, A., *Roman Army and Salt Exploitation in Dacia*, in: *JAHA*, 6, 3, 27-48.

MOINIER 2013 Moinier, B., *Légions et auxiliaires en marche – du sel et de la castramétation*, in: *Istros*, XIX, 367-388.

MONAH 2015 Monah, D., *Salt Springs: Places for Recrystallization and Ritual Centres for Exchange with Steppe Populations*, in: M. Alexianu, R.-G. Curcă, V. Cotiugă (eds.), *Salt Effect. Second Arheoinvest Symposium: From the ethnoarchaeology to the anthropology of salt*, Oxford, 111-120.

MONAH, DUMITROAIA, NICOLA 2008 Monah, D., Dumitroaia, Gh., Nicola, D., *Noi investigații etnoarheologice asupra izvoarelor sărate de pe Valea Muntelui*, in: D. Monah, Gh. Dumitroaia, D. Garvăn (eds.), *Sarea, de la prezent la trecut*, Piatra Neamț, 81-105.

MORÈRE MOLINERO 2011 Morère Molinero, N., *Historical Development of the "salinae" in Ancient Rome*, in: M. Alexianu, O. Weller, R.-G. Curcă (eds.), *Archaeology and Anthropology of Salt: A Diachronic Approach. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, 1-5 October 2008, Al. I. Cuza University (Iaşi, Romania)*, Oxford, 155-161.

MOSCAL 2018 Moscal, D., *Prima hartă a zăcămintelor de sare din România (1780). Toponimele corespondente actuale*, in: *Diacronia*, 7, 1-11.

MUNTEANU, GARVĂN 2011 Munteanu, R., Garvăn, D., *The Cucuteni C Pottery near the Moldavian Salt Springs*, in: M. Alexianu, O. Weller, R.-G. Curcă (eds.), *Archaeology and Anthropology of Salt: A Diachronic Approach. proceedings of the International*

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Colloquium 1-5 October 2008 Al. I. Cuza University (Iași, Romania), Oxford, 81-87.

NICOLA *et al.* 2007 Nicola, D., Munteanu, R., Garvăn, D., Preoteasa, C., Dumitroaia, Gh., *Solca – Slatina Mare (Roumanie). Preuves archéologiques de l'exploitation du sel en préhistoire*, in: D. Monah, Gh. Dumitroaia, O. Weller, J. Chapman (eds.), *L'exploitation du sel à travers le temps*, Piatra Neamț, 34-56.

PETOLESCU 2002 Petolescu, C. C., *Auxiliae Daciae. Contribuții la istoria militară a Daciei romane*, Bucharest.

PISO, CUPCEA 2014 Piso, I., Cupcea, G., *Ein centurio regionarius der legio X Fretensis in Dakien*, in: *Tyche*, 29, 115-123.

SZÉKELY 1993 Székely, Z., *Castrul roman de la Olteni. Noi rezultate ale cercetărilor din 1987-1988*, in: *ArhMold*, XVI, 279-282.

WELLER *et al.* 2007 Weller, O., Dumitroaia, Gh., Monah, D., Nuninger, L., *L'exploitation des sources salées de Moldavie: un exemple de ressource structurante du territoire depuis le Néolithique*, in: D. Monah, Gh. Dumitroaia, O. Weller, J. Chapman (eds.), *L'exploitation du sel à travers le temps*, Piatra Neamț, 99-113.

WELLER *et al.* 2011 Weller, O., Brigand, R., Nuninger, L., Dumitroaia, Gh., *Spatial Analysis of prehistoric Salt in Eastern Carpathians (Romania)*, in: M. Alexianu, O. Weller, R.-G. Curcă (eds.), *Archaeology and Anthropology of Salt: A Diachronic Approach. proceedings of the International Colloquium 1-5 October 2008 Al. I. Cuza University (Iași, Romania)*, Oxford, 69-80.

WELLER *et al.* 2015 Weller, O., Brigand, R., Dumitroaia, Gh., Garvăn, D., Munteanu, R., *A Pinch of Salt in the Prehistoric Eastern Carpathian Mountains (Romania)*, in: M. Alexianu, R.-G. Curcă, V. Cotiugă (eds.), *Salt Effect. Second Arheoinvest Symposium: From the ethnoarchaeology to the anthropology of salt*, Oxford, 125-133.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The composition analysis of several coins from the Iezer hoard (Puiești commune, Vaslui County)

LUCIAN MUNTEANU*, DANIELA CRISTEA-STAN**

Abstract: The paper presents the results of XRF analyzes (performed with a portable spectrometer, Tracer 5i) on 12 coins from the Iezer hoard (Vaslui County), which are in the collection of the "Vasile Pârvan" Museum in Bârlad. All the coins are counterfeits of Roman Imperial denarii, which we have divided into: copies both cast and stricken, and barbarian imitations. We have identified two different groups of cast copies. The first of them (A) consists of Cu-Sn(-Pb) denarii (Cat. 1-3), which have only recently been recognized in numerous finds from Western Moldavia, probably originating from Dacia. In the second group (B) were included coins cast from an alloy consisting of Cu-As-Ag (Cat. 4-8), which are an unknown category of counterfeits in the Roman era. The only coin copied by striking (Cat. 9) is silver-plated, and only the copper core has been preserved. Two of the barbarian imitations (Cat. 10-11), struck with the same pair of dies, have a high silver fineness (c. 90%) and we believe these were manufactured in the Eastern Carpathian area. The third imitation (Cat. 12) is silver-plated and pertains to the ONAV Group. We believe this coin was made by bonding silver foil to a copper core. The analyzes we carried out revealed the fact that almost a quarter of the coins in the Iezer hoard, preserved in the Bârlad Museum, are uncommon issues, of various nature and origin.

Keywords: *Western Moldavia, Iezer hoard, XRF analysis, counterfeit coins, copies and imitations of Roman coins, ONAV Group.*

The hoard of Iezer (Puiești Commune, Vaslui County) is one of the outstanding Roman monetary deposits on the territory of Moldavia west of

* Institute of Archaeology - Romanian Academy, Iaşi branch; lucanas2000@yahoo.com.
** Horia Hulubei National Institute for Physics and Nuclear Engineering; daniela@nipne.ro.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

the Prut. Unfortunately, many uncertainties surround it regarding its time and place of discovery, the initial number of coins or their subsequent fate. Part of this information could be recovered through the efforts of Eugenia Păpușoi and Costel Giurcanu, both of whom, unfortunately, have passed away. According to their records, which can no longer be verified, the treasure would have been found, by chance, in the years 1938-1939, in the village of Iezer, in a vineyard of a local resident, Chircă. It would have contained c. 1000-1500 silver coins, kept in a "cauldron", which were then sold in the Puiești fair, in lots of 100 pieces[1]. So the coins were scattered, and for several decades the confusions and uncertainties surrounding the discovery multiplied[2]. The first concrete information emerged only at the beginning of the 21st century, when a small private collection of Bucharest (Mihail Raportaru's) was published, containing 37 pieces, which would have belonged to this hoard[3]. Around the same time, at one of the conferences organized by the Romanian Numismatic Society, Costel Giurcanu presented 25 *denarii*, from his personal collection, whose origin he believed to be in the same discovery[4]. We were not able to study the respective coins, which are currently in the custody of the "Ștefan cel Mare" Museum in Vaslui.

A third lot is the one of "Vasile Pârvan" Museum in Bârlad. These pieces were donated in the 60s-70s of the last century by the students from the Technical-Metallurgical School in the town. For various reasons, they were not recorded separately, but together with other coins received during that period. Following Elena Popușoi's thorough research, carried out over several years, it was possible to recognize 45 *denarii* originating from the Iezer hoard, which were published in a paper[5]. We noticed at that time the unusually high number of peculiar issues (8 pcs.)[6], such as those conceivably cast, hybrid, silvered and/or barbarized, all being identified exclusively by visual criteria. The same lot was recently reproduced, in the form of a simple catalog, in a volume dedicated to Roman imports uncovered in Vaslui

[1] MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 1.
[2] MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 1-3.
[3] DIMA, VASILE 2003: 91-96.
[4] GIURCANU 2003.
[5] MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 1-34.
[6] MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 3-10.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

County, with the chemical composition of certain pieces presented in the footnotes[7]. Unfortunately, for various reasons, these are not accompanied by any information or comments in the respective publication.

In the present paper, we propose to discuss precisely the aspects related to the special composition of the alloys from which the respective coins were made. Before doing this, one should mentioned that, in recent years, with the help of Mrs. Ioana Scutaru, who curates the numismatic collection, the lot was completed with two other pieces (inv. nos. B/1589[8] and B/1624[9]), which we present here, for the first time, with the related technical data. Thus, 47 specimens are currently preserved in the Bârlad Museum, which certainly originated in the Iezer treasury.

For analysis, 12 coins were selected, representing those uncommon issues mentioned above (8 pcs.), to which we added other coins (4 pcs.), whose appearance appeared to us to be unusual. To determine their elemental chemical composition, a portable spectrometer, Tracer 5[i] produced by Bruker Instruments, was used, whose operating principle is based on X-ray Fluorescence and uses as an excitation source an X-ray tube with a Rh anode, with the maximum voltage of 40 kV. The cross-section of the beam is 40 mm^2. The depth analyzed is ~50 microns, depending on the composition of the sample. Elemental chemical composition is calculated for elements starting with magnesium (Mg) through uranium (U). Analyzes were done in air, without a filter, using the built-in software[10]. In all cases samples from both sides of the coins were examined. Only in certain situations, which we believed were particular, were analyzed two areas on the same side (**Cat. 1, 9, 12**).

All the 12 pieces presented here may be regarded as counterfeited imperial Roman *denarii*. Recently, this type of forgeries made in *Barbaricum*, both struck and cast, have been divided into two distinct categories: copies and imitations, respectively. The first of these reproduce the originals exactly, the possible deviations being accidental and explainable through the technology used. The other intentionally modify the images and captions on

---

7 GRUMEZA *et al.* 2022: 136-138, notes 18-36, no. II-43-1/1.1; 180-182, Pls. 18-20/1-45.

8 *Denarius* copy of Domitianus (2.372 g; 17x18 mm; 6h), Rome, years 94-95 (RIC II/1 790).

9 *Denarius* of Severus Alexander (3.248 g; 18 mm; 6h), Rome, year 227 (RIC IV/II 64).

10 MUNTEANU, HÂNCEANU, CRISTEA-STAN 2022: 68-69.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

the prototypes, "barbarize" them[11]. We believe that this model is viable and can be successfully applied to counterfeit coins discovered on the territory of Moldavia west of the Prut.

Starting from this classification, we divided the counterfeit coins that make up the present lot into copies after Roman imperial *denarii*, made by casting (**Cat. 1-8**), and by striking (**Cat. 9**) and, respectively, barbarian imitations (**Cat. 10-12**).

The category of cast copies is the largest, consisting of eight definite specimens. In general, their appearance has some specific features, such as unusual color, friability, flattened surface, pronounced porosity and traces of air bubbles. In some cases, only some of these traits are visible. Upon analysis, we noted that the coins could be divided into two distinct groups, each containing pieces with a relatively similar chemical composition.

The first of the groups, conventionally called A, appears to be the most consistent. This class includes three pieces (**Cat. 1-3**) showing the largest numbers of casting marks. They were made from an alloy of mainly copper (77.37-81.91%), with tin (15.46-19.35%) and lead (1.16-3.16%). In all the cases relatively similar percentages of the same minor elements are present. The reddish-yellowish color and pronounced friability of our pieces is determined by the amount of tin they contain[12].

We took advantage of the fact that one of the coins had a rather deep cavity (c. 2 mm) and analyzed that area in order to see the composition of the bulk (**Cat. 1, Av.2**; **Pl. I/1**). The results are very similar to those obtained from the surface investigation, which confirms the homogeneous composition of the pieces in this group. Furthermore, it is noticeable that the three Roman prototypes used are concentrated in an extremely narrow time-frame.

These coins are cast copies from an alloy of copper and tin, to which lead is added. These are a particular category of counterfeits, which have been documented both in territories within and outside the Empire. In the Roman world, such pieces were discovered in sites in the area of the Rhenish

[11] DYMOWSKI 2020: 171, note 26; DYMOWSKI 2021: 113; AWIANOWICZ, DYMOWSKI, MYZGIN 2022: 137.

[12] RAUB, ZWICKER 2012: 220.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

and Danubian *limes*[13], in *Britannia*[14] and in *Dacia*[15]. In most cases, the presumption is that their manufacture is located within the respective regions. When a relevant number of coins were analyzed, it was found that the alloy is mostly composed of copper (c. 70-80%), supplemented with tin (c. 10-20%) and lead (below 10%)[16]. Of course, there are rare situations that deviate significantly from these values[17].

The investigation of Cu-Sn *denarii* from the Eastern *Barbaricum* is fairly recent, but is proceeding at an accelerated pace. Such counterfeits were discovered especially on the current territory of Ukraine, in the Chernyakhiv environment, with specific casting techniques being recognized, and identifying possible workshops where these were made[18]. Similar coinage have recently been attested in Belarus[19] and Poland, in the latter case, both in the Roman period and in the Migrations era[20]. The number of pieces from these territories outside the Roman world that are analyzed, and the results of which are published, is still extremely limited. Most of them seem to have high amounts of tin in their composition, often higher than copper[21], but there are also exceptions to this rule[22].

Research in recent years has allowed the recognition of Cu-Sn cast counterfeits among the monetary finds in Moldavia west of the Prut. Until now, 13 such coins have been identified (including the present ones), in sites belonging to the archaeological cultures "Poienești-Vârteșcoiu" (6 pcs.) and

---

13 RAUB, ZWICKER 2012: 219-226.

14 BOON 1988: 108 and note 41; HALL 2014: 178.

15 PÎSLARU 2009: 66, 71-74, 360-362, 364; GĂZDAC, OARGĂ, ALFÖLDY-GĂZDAC 2015.

16 RAUB, ZWICKER 2012: 222-225, Tab. 1 and Fig. 1-2; GĂZDAC, OARGĂ, ALFÖLDY-GĂZDAC 2015: 39-45, Tab. 3

17 See the cast *denarii* of *Potaissa* (*Dacia*), which have significant percentages of tin in their composition, sometimes equal to or higher than copper (PÎSLARU 2009: 360-362).

18 MYZGHIN, KODATSKYI 2021; MYZGIN 2022; POHORILETS, NADVIRNYAK 2022: 6-10, 15-18; BOIKO-HAHARIN, SUSTRIETOV, ZADOROZHNIA 2022.

19 SYDOROVYCH 2021.

20 DULĘBA, ROMANOWSKI 2018: 80-82; BULAS *et al.* 2022.

21 DULĘBA, ROMANOWSKI 2018: 81-82, note 85; MYZGHIN, KODATSKYI 2021: 53-55, 59, Fig. 3; BOIKO-HAHARIN, SUSTRIETOV, ZADOROZHNIA 2022: 42, Tab. 2.

22 NADVIRNIAK, POHORILETS 2021b: 30, 32-33, no. 4.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

"Sântana de Mureș- Chernyakhiv" (4 pcs.), as well as in hoards (3 pcs.)[23]. For now, only the investigations of the pieces from Roșiori (Neamț County)[24], Dumitreștii Gălății (Iaşi County)[25] and Văleni (Neamț County)[26] have been reported, while the rest are being published shortly.

One should notice that the group A cast coins from the Iezer hoard are very similar to those from the Dumitreștii Gălății and Văleni cemeteries. In turn, these counterfeits show many similarities, in terms of appearance, prototypes and elemental chemical composition, with the cast *denarii* discovered in the sites of *Apulum* and *Potaissa* and were probably locally made. One assumes that the origin of the Cu-Sn copies from our hoard must also be sought in the Roman world, possibly in the neighboring province, from where they arrived in western Moldavia only beginning with the last period of the Severian dynasty[27].

The second group (B) of cast counterfeits from the Iezer hoard consists of five pieces (**Cat. 4-8**). At a first glance, there seems to lack any common elements that justify their association in a category. The color of the coins varies, some of them having gray-silver tones (**Cat. 4-5, 8**; **Pl. I/4-5, 8**), and others being reddish-brown (**Cat. 6-7**; **Pl. I/ 6-7**). The issuing emperors cover a wide chronological range, from Nero to Geta. The results of the analyses show that the first three pieces (**Cat. 4-6**) are an extremely homogeneous group from the point of view of chemical composition. These were cast from an alloy in which copper predominates (79.55-89.01%), in association with arsenic (8.56-10.97%) and silver (5.19-8.95%). The same minor elements are present, in similar amounts, in all three cases. The association of the unpublished *denarius* (**Cat. 4**) to this distinctive group confirms its indisputable origin in the Iezer hoard.

The next two copies depart from this compositional pattern, but retain a relatively significant percentage of arsenic (c. 4%), the presence of

---

[23] For a review of these findings, see: MUNTEANU, VORNICU 2022: 263-264; MUNTEANU, HÂNCEANU, CRISTEA-STAN 2022: 70-71. We previously assumed that a coin from the Măgura hoard is also a Cu-Sn cast copy, but more detailed investigations are needed.

[24] MIRCEA *et al.* 2019: 374-381.

[25] MUNTEANU, VORNICU 2022.

[26] MUNTEANU, HÂNCEANU, CRISTEA-STAN 2022.

[27] MUNTEANU, HÂNCEANU, CRISTEA-STAN 2022: 71.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

which we believe is not accidental[28]. The first of these (**Cat. 7**) contains a larger amount of silver (30.31-30.81%), and in the other (**Cat. 8**), this metal is the majority (69.79-75.77%). Both include only three other chemical elements, in small amounts (zinc, tin and lead).

We believe that the main characteristic of the cast copy coins from this group is the presence, in an unusually large amount, of arsenic, along with copper. In the literature, the use of arsenical bronze is attested in various historical periods, in different geographical regions. In the Near East and Europe, tin is thought to have replaced arsenic in this alloy from 1500 BC onwards[29]. As a peculiar exception, there is situation in which arsenical bronze was used for coinage in the Antiquity. It is a hoard from the "Libyan War" period (241-238 BC), probably discovered in Tunisia, which contains both Cu-As and Cu-Sn copies. The pieces that draw our interest have a high percentage of arsenic in their composition, which in some cases reaches up to 29%. Due to the reverse segregation that occurs during casting, the arsenic concentrates on the surface, resulting in a silver-gray color. Therefore, such coins were quite similar to the silver ones, being easily confused[30]. It was appreciated that the Cu-As coinage was a short-lived experiment, due to the fact that the alloys thus obtained were somewhat brittle, unsuitable for striking, and the arsenic processing was toxic. By the time these disadvantages were noted, the use of the more familiar mixture of copper and tin was probably preferred[31].

We do not know to what extent the arsenical bronze *denarii* copies from Iezer could be the result of an experiment, similar to that in North Africa, although in a different period. In the literature we have consulted, we have not been able to identify such coins made within or without the Empire. Therefore, at this point, one cannot ascertain their origin. We present them in this paper, together with the obtained data, to be available for future research.

---

28 In the case of archaeological artefacts made from a Cu-As alloy, arsenic is considered to have been intentionally added only when it exceeds 1% (cf. BUDD, OTTAWAY 1995: 95).

29 LA NIECE, CARRADICE 1989: 10-11; LECHTMAN, KLEIN 1999: 497-498.

30 CARRADICE, LA NIECE 1988; LA NIECE, CARRADICE 1989.

31 CARRADICE, LA NIECE 1988: 43-45.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The composition of the Iezer hoard includes several *denarii* of the Severian dynasty emperors (and their families), which appear to have some features specific to the casting process. Those pieces have a flattened appearance and, above all, an accentuated porosity. Although these issues are later than 194 AD[32], significant amounts of silver, over 80-90%, were detected in their composition[33]. Recently, cast forgeries, including copies after late *denarii*, made of an alloy in which silver consistently predominates, have been identified in the Eastern *Barbaricum*[34]. The situation is different for the Severian coins in our hoard, which we believe to be original issues. The high percentage of silver in their composition can be explained by the techniques used in their manufacture. Before minting, the coin blanks were subjected to "bleaching" treatments, which concentrated the precious metal on the surface, resulting in the silver color and porous appearance. This process of intentional artificial "enrichment" of the surface with silver (depletion silvering) appears to have been a common practice in the early 3rd century[35].

The last specimen that we have included in the class of copied coins is a silver-plated *denarius*, which we believe was made by striking (**Cat. 9**). It is in a poor state of preservation, so establishing its prototype is difficult. Lacking a more precise identification, this is probably among the first issues of Antoninus Pius[36].

Three points from distinct areas on the piece surface were examined. The first two come from the reddish-brown portions on the obverse and reverse (**Cat. 9, Av., Rv.2**; **Pl. I/9**), which are the majority. Their composition is mainly copper (96.3-98.48%) and a small amount of silver. The third

---

32 BUTCHER, PONTING 2012: 77 (after this year's depreciation, the *denarius* silver fineness reaches 46%).

33 It is about the coins with inventory nos. B/361, 363-366 (MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 20-21, nos. 33, 37-38, 40-41; 31-32, Pl. 3/33, 4/37-38, 40-41; GRUMEZA *et al*. 2022: 137, no. II-43-1/1.1, notes 26, 29-32; 181-182, Pls. 20/35, 21/38-41). Add to that the unpublished coin presented (no. B/1624).

34 NADVIRNIAK, POHORILETS 2018: 18; NADVIRNIAK, POHORILETS 2019: 33-34; NADVIRNIAK, POHORILETS 2021a: 66; POHORILETS, NADVIRNYAK 2022: 6-8, 14, 18; AWIANOWICZ, DYMOWSKI, MYZGIN 2022: 137.

35 GITLER, PONTING 2003: 11-16; BECK *et al.* 2004.

36 A different identification of this coin, cf. MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 22, no. 44; 32, Pl. 4/44; GRUMEZA *et al*. 2022: 136, no. II-43-1/1.1, note 19; 180, Pl. 18/14.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

analysis examined one of the light, silver-coloured "islands" on the reverse (**Cat. 9, Rv.1**). The percentage of silver detected in this area is quite small (9.92%). In all three cases, the same minor elements were identified, of which only antimony has values above 0.1%.

Unfortunately, the method we used (XRF) provides rather limited information in the case of silver-plated coins, due to the rather large focal spot size. In addition, the analyzed part has undergone some transformations over time, such as exfoliation, corrosion or intensive physical-chemical cleaning. Most likely, a significant portion of its surface was removed or had its original composition altered. Thus, out of the entire coin, the core, of a reddish color, whose composition is closer to pure copper, has been preserved to a certain extent. Moreover, when making blank cores, Roman metallurgists avoided using this metal in alloy with other elements (Sn, Pb or Zn), which could have a harmful role during heat treatments[37]. The small, light-colored portions were probably part of the coating, which surprisingly contains only a small percentage of silver. In the absence of more complex investigations, it is almost impossible to determine the nature of this coating and the technique by which it was bonded to the surface of the copper core[38].

The *denarii subaerati* are frequently encountered in the composition of the hoards discovered in the Eastern Carpathian territory, and such coins predominantly copy issues of the Antonine emperors[39]. Only a few such silver plated coins originate on sites belonging to the "Poienești-Vârteșcoiu" and "Sântana de Mureș- Chernyakhiv" cultures, and a good part of these turned out to be cast Cu-Sn forgeries[40]. We believe that the origin of the *denarii subaerati* from Western Moldavia must be sought in the neighboring Roman territories, especially in the province of *Dacia*, where massive amounts of such coins were found, isolated, both in the civilian settlements and military sites[41]. Recent research has shown that silver plated coins

37 INGO *et al.* 2017: 112.

38 On the different techniques of making *denarii subaerati*, see: PETER 1990: 25-29; ZWICKER, ODDY, LA NIECE 1993; LA NIECE 1993; PÎSLARU 2009: 51-54, 355-356; INGO *et al.* 2017.

39 MUNTEANU, HONCU, APARASCHIVEI 2021: 146-147.

40 MUNTEANU, HÂNCEANU, CRISTEA-STAN 2022: 70-71.

41 MUNTEANU, HONCU 2019: 174-181.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

reached the "Free Dacians" in the east quite early, probably even from the first half of the 2nd century AD[42].

The second category of counterfeit coins is represented in the Iezer hoard by three barbarian imitations of Roman Imperial *denarii*. Most likely, these counterfeits belong to different cultural backgrounds and date to distinct periods.

The first two coins (**Cat. 10-11**) were struck with the same pair of dies and used as a prototype a *denarius* of Galba, from a mint in Hispania. They are among the good quality imitations that are quite similar to the original pieces. Traces of barbarization are visible especially in the manner the imperial portrait is depicted on the obverse[43]. The pieces have an unusually high weight (over 5 g), but similar issues also exist in another hoard, discovered at Muncelu de Sus (4th lot) (Iași County) [44]. The Iezer imitations have been suspected to be modern forgeries, made in the early 20th century[45]. We are convinced that they were produced in the Antiquity, in the barbarian environment east of the Carpathians, and were later hoarded and buried together with coins from the same period.

The two imitations have very similar chemical compositions. They were struck from an alloy composed mainly of silver (89.94-91.63%)[46], a small amount of copper (c. 7.47-9.23%) and some minor elements. Of these, only lead and gold have higher values (c. 0.2-0.3%), and the latter metal is only present in one case (**Cat. 10**).

Unfortunately, there is scarce published information about the elemental composition of the barbarian *denarii* from Western Moldavia[47]. We know only one such coin, from the Blăgești hoard (Bacău County), which

[42] MUNTEANU, HONCU, APARASCHIVEI 2021: 147, 150.

[43] MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 6-7.

[44] SANIE, SANIE, COJOCARU 1980: 251, Fig. II/8; 262, no. 608; 267, Tab. 3.

[45] MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 7-8 and note 42.

[46] By comparison, the Tarraco mint prototype used by these imitations has a silver fineness of 98.9% (BUTCHER, PONTING 2014: 272).

[47] The situation is somewhat similar in other parts of Eastern *Barbaricum*, where only in recent years have such analyzes of imitative coins been carried out (MYZGIN, DYMOWSKI, CHEMURANOV 2020: 383, Tab. 2, no. 70; BUHAI, MYZGHIN 2021).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

contains silver (c. 96%), copper (c. 1.5%) and lead (c. 1%)[48]. Another 19 imitations, from the hoard of Muncelu de Sus (3rd lot) [49], were recently analyzed by the authors of the present study, using the XRF method, and the results are published shortly. They showed a high content of silver (c. 88-98%), which was alloyed with copper (up to 8%) and lead (up to 3%); only in some of them was gold detected (up to 0.7%). We note that there are visible analogies between the chemical composition of the two barbarian coins of Iezer and the composition of the imitations from Western Moldavia, which is a consistent argument in support of their authenticity.

The third barbarian coin (**Cat. 12**) seems to differ from the rest of the imitative *denarii* found in the hoards from the Eastern Carpathian area. It belongs to the ONAV Group, a large and complex die-chain of imitations, which contains 171 coins (166 *denarii* and 5 *aurei*). Based on the die-links between the silver and gold imitations, the group was dated at the end of the 3rd - beginning of the 4th century AD. Until now, this sort of coins has only been discovered in the area of Chernyakhiv archaeological culture, on the territory of Ukraine and Republic of Moldova and it is assumed that they originate from a single workshop in Ukraine[50]. It was noted that this group includes a large number of *subaerati*, as is the case with the piece from the Iezer hoard.

Three different looking areas on both sides of the coin were analyzed. In all cases, an alloy composed mainly of copper and silver, in varying proportions, was identified. Thus, the lighter, silvery color, which is the majority, was investigated only from the obverse (**Cat. 12, Av.2**; **Pl. I/12**), with a high percentage of precious metal detected (80.19%). In the reddish-brown areas on both sides, which are smaller, copper predominates (63.05%) (**Cat. 12, Rv.**) or is on par with silver (48.94%) (**Cat. 12, Av. 1**). Apart from the two main metals, all the samples examined contain various chemical elements in small amounts. Of these, lead (0.67-1.73%) and mercury (0.11-0.38%) appear more consistently.

---

[48] MOISIL 2011: 36, no. 17; 48, Annex 1, no. 17.

[49] MUNTEANU, HONCU 2020: 350 and note 43.

[50] ANOKHIN 2018: 35-38; DYMOWSKI 2019: 186; DYMOWSKI 2021: 113-114; MYZGIN, DYMOWSKI, CHEMURANOV 2020: 366, 368.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The partial elemental chemical composition of the two overlapping layers could provide some clues as to how the coin was made. The outer covering is mostly silver and appears to have the characteristics (thickness, density and strength) of a sheet. Its partial deterioration, appearing in areas with raised reliefs, brought to light the copper and silver layer underneath, reddish in color. This probably represents an intermediary layer (eutectic alloy), which had the role of bonding the silver sheet to the copper core. But more complex analyzes are needed to be able to establish whether the plating was done by self-soldering (so-called "Sheffield plating") or a hard solder (made up of silver and copper) was intentionally used to coat the copper blank[51].

One should emphasize the presence of mercury, in a rather small amount, in the composition of both layers containing silver. The analysis method used does not allow us to determine whether this chemical element was used in the plating process ("mercury silvering"[52]) or it was an impurity in the silver ore.

The singular appearance of a coin from the ONAV Group in the composition of a hoard from the Eastern Carpathian area is a remarkable fact. At the moment, the Iezer find marks the western limit of the distribution area of these barbarian imitations. Also, because of this coin, for the first time a *denarii* deposit in Western Moldavia can be linked to the Gothic migration and the "Sântana de Mureș-Chernyakhiv" culture.

The analysis of the elemental chemical composition of the coins from the Iezer hoard, preserved in the collection of the Bârlad Museum, revealed that almost a quarter of the pieces in this lot are uncommon issues, of various nature and origin. For the future, it is necessary to continue the study of this important monetary discovery, by means of investigations in the archive and the museum collection, the publication of the still unpublished coins (Giurcanu collection) as well as by extending the investigation of those already published.

---

51 For plating techniques with silver foil, see: ZWICKER, ODDY, LA NIECE 1993: 228-229, 237-244; LA NIECE 1993: 228-229; INGO *et al.* 2017: 110-118.

52 LA NIECE 1993: 230-231; INGO *et al.* 2017: 112-118.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

CATALOGUE[53] (prototypes)

I. Copies of Roman imperial *denarii*

1A. Copies made by casting (group A)

1. Antoninus Pius: Faustina II, Rome, years 145-161 (RIC III 517a). **Pl. I/1**;
Bibl.: MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 18, no. 21; 31, Pl. 3/21; GRUMEZA *et al.* 2022: 137, no. II-43-1/1.1, note 22; 181, Pl. 19/22; VPMB inv. no. B/355.

%	Cu	Sn	Pb	Zn	Ag	Sb	Fe	As	Ni	Co	Bi	Ti
Av.1	81.59	15.82	1.72	0.37	0.12	0.13	0.10	0.06	0.03	n.d.	0.02	n.d.
Av.2	81.91	15.46	1.91	0.31	0.12	0.09	0.08	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.01
Rv.	81.25	16.54	1.53	0.30	0.11	0.10	0.06	0.06	n.d.	0.02	n.d.	0.01

2. Marcus Aurelius, Rome, years 171-172 (RIC III 261). **Pl. I/2**;
Bibl.: MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 18, no. 24; 31, Pl. 3/24; GRUMEZA *et al.* 2022: 137, no. II-43-1/1.1, note 24; 181, Pl. 19/25; VPMB inv.no. B/351;

%	Cu	Sn	Pb	Zn	Ag	Sb	Fe	As	Ni	Co	Bi	Ti
Av.	78.81	19.11	1.89	n.d.	0.03	n.d.	0.04	0.06	n.d.	0.03	n.d.	n.d.
Rv.	78.84	19.35	1.16	n.d.	0.03	n.d.	0.05	0.04	n.d.	0.03	n.d.	0.02

3. Marcus Aurelius, Rome, years 171-172 (RIC III 262). **Pl. I/3**;
Bibl.: MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 19, no. 25; 31, Pl. 3/25; GRUMEZA *et al.* 2022: 137, no. II-43-1/1.1, note 25; 181, Pl. 19/25; VPMB inv. no. B/317;

%	Cu	Sn	Pb	Zn	Ag	Sb	Fe	As	Ni	Co	Bi	Ti
Av.	78.48	19.06	2.02	0.04	0.06	n.d.	n.d.	0.24	0.02	0.01	n.d.	n.d.
Rv.	77.37	19.04	3.16	0.02	0.04	n.d.	0.04	0.15	0.02	0.01	n.d.	n.d.

1B. Copies made by casting (group B)

4. Domitianus, Rome, years 94-95 (RIC II/1 790). **Pl. I/4**;
Bibl.: unpublished; VPMB inv. no. B/1589;

%	Cu	As	Ag	Zn	Sn	Pb	Sb	Co	Ti
Av.	83.49	8.94	5.30	1.03	0.69	0.41	0.06	0.02	n.d.
Rv.	89.01	8.56	5.19	0.98	0.68	0.45	0.04	n.d.	n.d.

[53] VPMB - "Vasile Pârvan" Museum in Bârlad; n.d. - not identified (bellow the detection limits).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

5. Antoninus Pius, Rome, years 152-153 (RIC III 219). **Pl. I/5**;
Bibl.: MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 17, no. 17; 30, Pl. 2/17; GRUMEZA *et al*. 2022: 136, no. II-43-1/1.1, note 21; 180, Pl. 18/18; VPMB inv. no. B/343;

%	Cu	As	Ag	Zn	Sn	Pb	Sb	Co	Ti
Av.	79.55	9.83	8.44	0.95	0.74	0.37	0.08	0.02	0.02
Rv.	78.06	10.97	8.95	0.82	0.75	0.31	0.06	0.01	0.03

6. Geta, Laodicea ad Mare, years 198-200 (RIC IV/I 95). **Pl. I/6**;
Bibl.: MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 20, no. 35; 31, Pl. 3/35; GRUMEZA *et al*. 2022: 137, no. II-43-1/1.1, note 28; 182, Pl. 20/37; VPMB inv. no. B/388;

%	Cu	As	Ag	Zn	Sn	Pb	Sb	Co	Ti
Av.	81.34	10.48	6.01	0.91	0.71	0.44	0.06	0.01	0.02
Rv.	81.83	9.99	6.01	0.94	0.74	0.39	0.05	0.01	0.02

7. Nero, Rome, years 64-65 (RIC I^2 53). **Pl. I/7**;
Bibl.: MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 15, no. 1; 30, Pl. 2/1; GRUMEZA *et al*. 2022: 136, no. II-43-1/1.1, note 18; 180, Pl. 18/1; VPMB inv. no. B/325;

%	Cu	As	Ag	Zn	Sn	Pb
Av.	63.70	3.86	30.81	0.15	0.84	0.57
Rv.	64.17	3.83	30.31	0.17	1.00	0.50

8. Septimius Severus: Iulia Domna, Rome, years 196-211 (RIC IV/I 580). **Pl. I/8**;
Bibl.: MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 20-21, no. 36; 31, Pl. 3/36; GRUMEZA *et al*. 2022: 137, no. II-43-1/1.1, note 27; 181, Pl. 19/36; VPMB inv. no. B/362;

%	Cu	As	Ag	Zn	Sn	Pb
Av.	22.69	4.27	69.79	n.d.	0.83	1.42
Rv.	17.73	3.64	75.77	0.13	0.64	1.44

2. Copies made by striking

9. Antoninus Pius, Rome, years 138-139 (RIC III, p. 26-28). **Pl. I/9**;
Bibl.: MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 22, no. 44; 32, Pl. 4/44; GRUMEZA *et al*. 2022: 136, no. II-43-1/1.1, note 19; 180, Pl. 18/14; VPMB inv. no. B/368;

%	Cu	Ag	Sb	As	Fe	Sn	Zn	Pb	Ni	Ti	Co
Av.	98.48	1.16	0.11	0.05	n.d.	0.04	n.d.	0.02	0.02	0.02	n.d.
Rv.1	84.80	9.92	0.12	0.04	0.05	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.01	n.d.
Rv.2	96.30	3.33	0.15	0.05	0.05	n.d.	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

II. Barbarian imitations of Roman imperial *denarii*

10. Galba, Tarraco (?), year 68 (RIC I² 23). **Pl. I/10**;
Bibl.: MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 22, no. 42; 32, Pl. 4/42; GRUMEZA *et al*. 2022: 137, no. II-43-1/1.1, note 34; 182, Pl. 20/43; VPMB inv. no. B/326;

%	Ag	Cu	Pb	Au	Zn	As	Ni	Bi
Av.	89.84	9.23	0.24	0.39	0.07	0.10	n.d.	0.02
Rv.	90.64	8.38	0.22	0.37	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.02

11. Galba, Tarraco (?), year 68 (RIC I² 23). **Pl. I/11**;
Bibl.: MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 22, no. 43; 32, Pl. 4/43; GRUMEZA *et al*. 2022: 137, no. II-43-1/1.1, note 35; 182, Pl. 20/44; VPMB inv. no. B/327;

%	Ag	Cu	Pb	Au	Zn	As	Ni	Bi
Av.	91.62	7.47	0.22	n.d.	0.08	0.10	0.11	0.03
Rv.	90.33	8.75	0.24	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.10	0.02

12. Hybrid: Obv: Commodus (general) / Rv: Marcus Aurelius: Commodus, Rome, year 178 (RIC III 649); ONAV Group imitation. **Pl. I/12**;
Bibl.: MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014: 22, no. 45; 32, Pl. 4/45; GRUMEZA *et al*. 2022: 137-138, no. II-43-1/1.1, note 36; 182, Pl. 20/45; VPMB inv. no. B/357;

%	Ag	Cu	Pb	Sn	Zn	Au	Bi	As	Ni	Sb	Fe	Co	Hg
Av.1	47.71	48.94	0.96	0.71	n.d.	n.d.	0.20	n.d.	0.11	0.04	0.04	n.d.	0.28
Av.2	80.19	16.30	1.73	n.d.	0.44	0.45	0.32	0.25	0.10	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.11
Rv.	34.61	63.05	0.67	n.d.	0.24	n.d.	0.14	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.01	0.38

Bibliography

ANOKHIN 2018 — Anokhin, O. V., *Do pytannia chasu karbuvannia ta obihu varvarskykh nasliduvan*, in: *Aktualni problemy numizmatyky u systemi spetsialnykh haluzei istorychnoi nauky. Tezy dopovidei V Mizhnarodnoi naukovo-praktychnoi konferentsii, 21-22 chervnia 2018 r.*, Medzhybizh, 35-38.

AWIANOWICZ, DYMOWSKI, MYZGIN 2022 — Awianowicz, B., Dymowski, A., Myzgin, K., *The Counterfeit Roman Imperial Denarii on both Sides of the Limes according to the Written, Archaeological and Numismatic Sources. Was there any Transfer of Ideas, Technologies and Coins?*, in: M. Olędzki, A. Dubicki (eds.), *Rome and the Barbarians. An Interplay between two Worlds*, Zakład Poligraficzny, Łódź, 129-144.

BECK *et al.* 2004 — Beck, L., Bosonnet, S., Réveillon, S., Eliot, D., Pilon, F., *Silver surface enrichment of silver-copper alloys: a limitation for the analysis of ancient silver coins by surface techniques*, in: *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research B*, 226, 153-162.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

BOIKO-HAHARIN, SUSTRIETOV, ZADOROZHNIA 2022 — Boiko-Haharin, A., Sustrietov, A., Zadorozhnia, A., *Cast imitation Roman imperial denarii finds in Podillya region*, in: *Acta Archaeologica Lodziensia*, 68, 39-48.

BOON 1988 — Boon, G. C., *Counterfeit coins in Roman Britain*, in: J. Casey, R. Reece (eds.), *Coins and the Archaeologist*[2], Seaby, London, 102-188.

BUDD, OTTAWAY 1995 — Budd, P., Ottaway, B. S., *Eneolithic arsenical copper. Chance or choice?*, in: P. Petrović, S. Đurđekanović (eds.) *Ancient mining and metallurgy in southeast Europe: international symposium, Donji Milanovac, May 20-25, 1990*, Arheološki Institut Beograd, Belgrade-Bor, 95-102.

BUHAI, MYZGHIN 2021 — Buhai, O., Myzghin, K., *Elementnyi sklad varvarskykh nasliduvan rymskykh monet: analiz metodom PIXE*, in: *Problemy i perspektyvy numizmatyky antychnoi i rymskoi doby na terenakh Pivdenno-Skhidnoi Yevropy. Tezy dopovidei I Mizhnarodnoho fakhovoho seminaru, prysviachenoho pamiati V.O. Anokhina, 26 veresnia 2019 roku*, Medzhybizh, 38-51.

BULAS *et al.* 2022 — Bulas, J., Bodzek, J., Zając, B., Jellonek, S., *Irregular Roman Coins from Roman and Migration periods settlements in western Lesser Poland*, in: *XVI International Numismatic Congress in Warsaw September 11-16, 2022. Book of Abstracts*, Warsaw, 101.

BUTCHER, PONTING 2012 — Butcher, K., Ponting, M., *The beginning of the end? The denarius in the second century*, in: *NumChron*, 172, 64-83.

BUTCHER, PONTING 2014 — Butcher, K., Ponting, M., *The Metallurgy of Roman Silver Coinage: From the Reform of Nero to the Reform of Trajan*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

CARRADICE, LA NIECE 1988 — Carradice, I. A., La Niece, S., *The Libyan War and Coinage: a New Hoard and the Evidence of Metal Analysis*, in: *NumChron*, 148, 33-52.

DIMA, VASILE 2003 — Dima, M., Vasile, M., *Tezaurul de la Puiești, jud. Vaslui*, in: E. Nicolae (red. resp.), *Simpozion de numismatică dedicat împlinirii a 125 de ani de la proclamarea independenței României. Chișinău, 24-26 septembrie 2002. Comunicări, studii și note*, Ed. Enciclopedică, București, 91-96.

DULĘBA, ROMANOWSKI 2018 — Dulęba, P., Romanowski, A., *Rzymskie monety z osady kultury przeworskiej w Nieprowicach, pow. pińczowski, w świetle danych archeologicznych*, in: *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne*, 62/1-2, 61-99.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

DYMOWSKI 2021 Dymowski, A., *Barbarian Copies of Roman Imperial denarii*, in: R. Ciołek, R. Chowaniec (eds.), *Aleksanderia. Studies on Items, Ideas and History Dedicated to Professor Aleksander Bursche on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 111-116.

DYMOWSKI 2020 Dymowski, A., *Some Remarks on the Problem of Occurrence of* Denarii Subaerati *in Barbaricum*, in: *Notae Numismaticae - Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, 15, 167-178.

DYMOWSKI 2019 Dymowski, A., *The CERES Group of Barbarian Imitations of Roman Denarii*, in: *NumChron*, 179, 179-204.

GĂZDAC, OARGĂ, ALFÖLDY-GĂZDAC 2015 Găzdac, C., Oargă, O., Alföldy-Găzdac, Á., *It was supposed to be Silver! The Scrap Coin 'Hoard' Apulum VI*, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca.

GITLER, PONTING 2003 Gitler, H., Ponting, M., *The silver coinage of Septimius Severus and his family (193-211 AD). A study of the chemical composition of the Roman and Eastern issues*, Ennerre, Milano.

GIURCANU 2003 Giurcanu, C., *Noi date despre tezaurul de monede imperiale romane de la Iezer-Puiești*. Conference paper the "XXth National Numismatic Symposium", Brăila, May 22-24, 2003 (manuscript).

GRUMEZA *et al.* 2022 Grumeza, L., Cojocaru, V., Honcu, Șt., Munteanu, L., *Corpus der romischen Funde im europaischen Barbaricum. Rumänien. Band 2. Kreis Vaslui*, Mega Verlag, Cluj-Napoca.

HALL 2014 Hall, J., *With Criminal Intent? Forgers at Work in Roman London*, in: *Britannia*, 45, 165-194.

INGO *et al.* 2017 Ingo, G. M., Riccucci, C., Faraldi, F., Pascucci, M., Messina, E., Fierro, G., Di Carlo, G., *Roman sophisticated surface modification methods to manufacture silver counterfeited coins*, in: *Applied Surface Science*, 421, 109-119.

LA NIECE 1993 La Niece, S., *Technology of Silver-Plated Coin Forgeries*, in: Archibald, M. M., Cowell, M. R. (eds.), *Metallurgy in Numismatics*, 3, Spink & Son Ltd., London, 227-239.

LA NIECE, CARRADICE 1989 La Niece, S., Carradice, I., *White copper: The arsenical coinage of the Libyan revolt 241-238 BC* in: *Historical Metallurgy: Journal of the Historical Metallurgy Society*, 23/1, 9-15.

LECHTMAN, KLEIN 1999 Lechtman, H., Klein, S., *The Production of Copper-Arsenic Alloys (Arsenic Bronze) by Cosmelting: Modern Experiment, Ancient Practice*, in: *JASc*, 26, 497-526.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

MIRCEA *et al.* 2019 Mircea, O., Hânceanu, G. D., Vasilache, V., Sandu, I., Sandu, A. V., Munteanu, L., *Study of a coin from the 2nd century discovered in Roşiori, Neamţ County*, in: A. M. Gărău, R. F. Oprițescu (eds.), *MATCONS. Matter and Materials in/for Heritage Conservation. 7th Edition. October 8th-12th, 2019*, Muzeul Olteniei, Craiova, 369-383.

MOISIL 2011 Moisil, D., *Un nou lot din tezaurul de denari romani imperiali de la Blăgești, județul Bacău*, in: *CercNum*, 17, 27-51.

MUNTEANU, HÂNCEANU, CRISTEA-STAN 2022 Munteanu, L., Hânceanu, G.-D., Cristea-Stan, D., *Considerații pe marginea descoperirilor monetare din necropola de la Văleni (jud. Neamț)*, in: G. M. Talmațchi, C. Paraschiv-Talmațchi, L. Munteanu (eds.), *Studia Numismatica et Archaeologica in honorem Gabriel Gheorghe Custurea oblata*, București / *Pontica*, 55 Supplementum IX, 65-78.

MUNTEANU, HONCU 2019 Munteanu, L., Honcu, Șt., *Silver plated coins in the sites of Roman Dacia*, in: L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba (ed.) *Limes, Economy and Society in the Lower Danubian Roman Provinces*, Peeters, Leuven, 173-192.

MUNTEANU, HONCU 2020 Munteanu, L., Honcu, Șt., *Some Remarks on the Chronology of Denarii Hoards from the Eastern Carpathian Barbaricum*, in: C. Găzdac (ed.) *Group and individual tragedies in Roman Europe. The evidence of hoards, epigraphic and literary sources*, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 345-358.

MUNTEANU, HONCU, APARASCHIVEI 2021 Munteanu, L., Honcu, Șt., Aparaschivei, D., *On the Chronology of Roman Coins in Barbaricum. Denarii Finds from the Site of Schineni (Bacău County)*, in: V. Cojocaru, A.-I. Pázsint, (eds.), *Migration and Identity in Eurasia. From Ancient Times to the Middle Ages*, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 139-165.

MUNTEANU, POPUȘOI 2014 Munteanu, L., Popușoi, E., *The Roman Coin Hoard from Iezer*, in: A. Mihalache, D. Aparaschivei, Gh. Cliveti, Al. Simon (eds.), *Inovație și interdisciplinaritate în cercetarea arheologică și istorică: teorii, metode, surse*, Ed. Academiei Române, Iași / *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol"*, 51, Supliment, 1-34.

MUNTEANU, VORNICU 2022 Munteanu, L., Vornicu, N., *Contribuții la problema imitațiilor de denari romani imperali din Moldova. Descoperirea monetară din necropola de la Dumitreștii Gălății (com. Schitu Duca, jud. Iași)*, in: *Revista de Arheologie, Antropologie și Studii Interdisciplinare*, 4, 257-266.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

MYZGIN 2022 Myzgin, K., *Denarii Flati*, in: *XVI International Numismatic Congress in Warsaw September 11-16, 2022. Book of Abstracts*, Warsaw, 100.

MYZGIN, DYMOWSKI, CHEMURANOV 2020 Myzgin, K., Dymowski, A., Chemuranov, O., *A new Roman imperial denarius hoard with barbarian imitation from Ukraine: the Skypche hoard*, in: C. Găzdac (ed.), *Group and individual tragedies in Roman Europe. The evidence of hoards, epigraphic and literary sources*, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 359-383.

MYZGHIN, KODATSKYI 2021 Myzghin, K., Kodatskyi, S., *Na inshomu botsi Dnipra: pro znakhidky litykh kopii rymskykh denariiv u skhidnomu areali cherniakhivskoi kultury*, in: *Problemy i perspektyvy numizmatyky antychnoi i rymskoi doby na terenakh Pivdenno-Skhidnoi Yevropy. Tezy dopovidei I Mizhnarodnoho fakhovoho seminaru, prysviachenoho pamiati V.O. Anokhina, 26 veresnia 2019 roku*, Medzhybizh, 52-59.

NADVIRNIAK, POHORILETS 2021a Nadvirniak, O., Pohorilets, O., *Do pytannia lokalizatsii novykh oseredkiv po vyhotovlenniu lytykh kopii rymskykh denariiv I-III st. v zoni poshyrennia Cherniakhivskoi spilnoty*, in: *Problemy i perspektyvy numizmatyky antychnoi i rymskoi doby na terenakh Pivdenno-Skhidnoi Yevropy. Tezy dopovidei I Mizhnarodnoho fakhovoho seminaru, prysviachenoho pamiati V.O. Anokhina, 26 veresnia 2019 roku*, Medzhybizh, 65-68.

NADVIRNIAK, POHORILETS 2021b Nadvirniak, O., Pohorilets, O., *Numizmatychnyy kompleks rymskykh denariiv z poselennia cherniakhivskoi kultury Chankiv I*, in: *Aktualni problemy numizmatyky u systemi spetsialnykh haluzey istorychnoi nauky. Tezy dopovidey VI mizhnarodnoi naukovoyi konferentsii 17-18 veresnia 2020 r.*, Pereiaslav, 29-34.

NADVIRNIAK, POHORILETS 2019 Nadvirniak, O., Pohorilets, O., *"Falshyvomonetnytstvo", "neofitsiini imitatsii" chy "neofitsiine monetne vyrobnytstvo"? do pytannia prysutnosti "lytykh" denariiv I-III stolittia n.e na "vavrvarskykh" terytoriiakh Pivdenno-Skhidnoi Yevropy (za materialamy mezhyrichchia serednoho Dnistra i Pivdennoho Buhu)*, in: *Ukrainskyi numizmatychnyi shchorichnyk*, 3, 28-41.

NADVIRNIAK, POHORILETS 2018 Nadvirniak, O., Pohorilets, O., *Pro deiaki aspekty lokalizatsii tsentriv vyrobnytstva t. zv. "lytykh" denariiv I-III stolit n.e. na terenakh poshyrennia cherniakhivskoi spilnoty*, in: *Aktualni problemy numizmatyky u systemi spetsialnykh haluzei istorychnoi nauky. Tezy dopovidei V Mizhnarodnoi naukovo-praktychnoi konferentsii, 21-22 chervnia 2018 r.*, Medzhybizh, 17-21.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

PETER 1990 Peter, M., *Eine Werkstätte zur Herstellung von subaeraten Denaren in Augusta Raurica,* Gebr. Mann Verlag, Berlin.

PÎSLARU 2009 Pîslaru, M., *The Roman Coins from Potaissa. Legionary Fortress and Ancient Town*, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca.

POHORILETS, NADVIRNYAK 2022 Pohorilets, O., Nadvirnyak, O., *Distribution of cast copies of Roman denominations in the 'barbarian' territories of South-Eastern Europe. Some aspects*, Khmelnytskyi-Warsaw.

RAUB, ZWICKER 2012 Raub, Ch., Zwicker, U., *Cast Forgeries of Roman Denarii and Antoninianii, Silver-tin-copper and Copper-tin Alloys,* in: *NumChron*, 172, 219-226.

RIC I^2, II/1, III, IV/I, IV/II *The Roman Imperial Coinage*. I^2. Sutherland, C.H.V., *From 31 BC to AD 69,* Spink & Son Ltd., London, 1984; II/1. Carradice, I. A., Buttrey, T. V., *From AD 69-96. Vespasian to Domitian*, Spink & Son Ltd., London, 2007; III. Mattingly, H., Sydenham, E.A., *Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, Spink & Son Ltd., London, 1930; IV/I. Mattingly, H., Sydenham, E.A., *Pertinax to Geta*, Spink & Son Ltd., London, 1936; IV/II. Sydenham, E.A., Sutherland, C.H.V., *Macrinus to Pupienus*, Spink & Son Ltd., London, 1938.

SANIE, SANIE, COJOCARU 1980 Sanie, Ș., Sanie, S., Cojocaru, M., *Tezaurul de la Muncelul de Sus și unele probleme ale circulației monetare romane în Moldova*, in: *CI*, 11, 249-268.

SYDOROVYCH 2021 Sydorovych V., *Nakhodky "lymesnykh" denaryev v Belarusy (kvoprosu o severo-vostochnoi hranytse ykh rasprostranenyia)*, in: *Problemy i perspektyvy numizmatyky antychnoi i rymskoi doby na terenakh Pivdenno-Skhidnoi Yevropy: tezy dopovidei I Mizhnarodnoho fakhovoho seminaru, prysviachenoho pamiati V.O. Anokhina, 26 veresnia 2019 roku*, Medzhybizh, 69-74.

ZWICKER, ODDY, LA NIECE 1993 Zwicker, U., Oddy, A., La Niece, S., *Roman techniques of manufacturing silver-plated coins*, in: S. La Niece, P. T. Craddock (eds.), *Metal plating and patination. Cultural, technical, and historical developments,* Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, 223-246.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Pl. I. Coins from the Iezer hoard

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Re-reading Anonymus' *Gesta Hungarorum*. Who were the *Sclavi* and the *Blachi*? And who were the *Bulgari* and the *Pastores Romanorum*?

SORIN PALIGA[*]

Abstract: In various works and analyses, Anonymus' Gesta Hungarorum has been much analysed, criticised and praised. In many of these discussions, however, there have been numerous errors in the analysis of his text, including how the ethnonyms have been translated. At first sight, matters seem clear: Sclavi are the Slavs, but — precisely — which ones? And the Blachi are… Well, this seems a difficult point, as the translations cannot be 'Vlakhs', as we often see. This translation tells us nothing about the group Anonymus had in mind. Nevertheless, Anonymus was remarkably clear and offers accurate details. The analysis of these details may lead to reliable and persuasive results, if we look at the text without modern and contemporary political interpretations. Considering only the context in which the text was written, Blachus referred to 'any Romanised' group. Therefore, it should be translated contextually, considering both the geographical location of the populations it referred to, and also the historical period. This paper tries to clarify some debated parts of Anonymus' work. Gesta Hungarorum is a valuable source of ethnographic and historical details, which are entirely coherent and consonant with other data. The text is a wonderful lesson on ethnicity and sense of history.

Keywords: *Anonymus; Gesta Hungaroroum; Hungarians; Keszthely culture; nomadism; Romans; Romanians; Slavs; transhumance; translation; Vlachs.*

1. A general view

Anonymus's *Gesta Hungarorum*[1] has often been the subject of various interpretations, especially in Romanian and Hungarian historiographies.

---

[*] University of Bucharest: sorin.paliga@lls.unibuc.ro.

[1] Anonymus, *Gesta Hungarorum. Chronicon Anonymi Bele Regis Notarii*. Electronic edition https://la.wikisource.org/wiki/Gesta_Hungarorum [Aug. 31st, 2016].

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The present author has also approached this remarkable text, mainly with respect to what it says about ethnicity, and specifically from the perspective of translating ethnic names. The problem may seem at first glance trivial or banal, but — in fact — it is not[2]. I attempted an initial approach to the subject of ethnicity, specifically to Slavic ethnicity, in an interdisciplinary work, written together with an archaeologist[3]. There are various and complex issues related to ethnicity in general, and to Central and Southeast European ethnicity in particular.

We may start our investigation from a widely quoted, even if perhaps less often read section at the end of chapter IX of the *Gesta Hungarorum*. The fragment is the following, and the ethnic names under investigation are in boldface:

> "Dicebant enim, quod ibi confluerent nobilissimi fontes aquarum, Danubius et Tyscia, et alij nobilissimi fontes bonis piscibus habundantes. Quem terram habitarent **sclauij**, **Bulgarij** et **Blachij**, ac **pastores romanorum**."

Anonymus refers to *four* ethnic names or *four* distinct populations: *Sclavi, Bulgari, Blachi ac pastores Romanorum*.

One of the translators[4] changes the four ethnic groups into three [!] by changing the meaning of *ac* from "and" to "i.e., that is", thus resulting the following translation:

> " …the Slavs, the Bulgarians, the Romanians, i.e. the shepherds of the Romans."

Is this what Anonymus really wished to tell us?

Madgearu[5] takes a new step forward and simply makes two out of four: he translates the paragraph, which — retranslated into English — would be:

> " …the Slavs, i.e. the Bulgarians, the Romanians, i.e. the shepherds of the Romans."

---

2 PALIGA 2015; PALIGA 2016a; PALIGA 2016b.

3 PALIGA, TEODOR 2009.

4 POPA-LISSEANU 1934; Latin text with 'adapted' original; not recommended for an accurate analysis.

5 MADGEARU 2005.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

One may think that these erroneous translations reflect the general, simplified view of the Romanian historians, tempted to exaggerate the role of the Romanians in Central and Southeast Europe. Probably yes, but let us have a look at two other translations, one made by a Hungarian scholar, Martyn Rady[6], the other by a Slovak translator: Vincent Múcska[7]. Madgearu's translation is erroneous in any case, as it implies that there were no Slavs at the time when the Hungarians settled in Central Europe, but in the Balkans only.

Both translators, in English and Slovak, use *Vlakhs* and *Valasi*, respectively, in order to translate the original Latin form *Blachi*. This makes no sense, though, as both the English and the Slovak forms are now used to refer to the Balkan Romanians ("Vlachs", "Vlakhs", "Valasi" – see also the *Addendum*). It seems that neither Martyn Rady nor Vincent Múcska are at all sure how to deal with the ethnic name *Blachi*; they do not seem to know what modern, contemporary form should be used as a reasonably correct equivalent. Therefore, their choice was to use a modern form etymologically close to the original. In normal circumstances, this may be a good approach to such problems but in this case it brings confusion to a text which is, by and large, entirely consistent, at least in the use of ethnic names.

This was also the choice for the seemingly first translation of Gesta Hungarorum into Romanian[8]. The translation of the paragraph under scrutiny is on p. 31. The ethnic name of the original (*Blachi*) is preserved as such: *Blachi*. The non-interpreted equivalent is not at all clear, but anticipates the formula chosen by other translators like Blédy and Múcska.

Let us briefly analyse those ethnonyms:

1. The form *Sclavi* obviously refers to 'the Slavs of our area', the Slavs located in Pannonia and neighbouring areas. It follows under that interpretation that these *Sclavi* must be the precursors of the Slovaks and Slovenes. This is in full accord with another ethnic name referring to Slavs, *Rutheni*, used by Anonymus in other parts of his work, and which has also had different connotations across history. In the work of Anonymus, it refers to the Slavic groups located in the area of Kiev.

---

6 RADY 2009.

7 MÚCSKA 2000.

8 BESAN 1899.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

2. The form *Bulgari* obviously refers to the Balkan Slavs, the Bulgarians. In the historical period described by Anonymus the so-called Proto-Bulgars (of Turkic origin) had been entirely assimilated and had for all practical purposes vanished from history. *Bulgari* therefore refers to the Balkan Slavs, the precursors of the Medieval and Modern Bulgarians.

3. The form *Blachi* seems to be the key ethnic name of the paragraph, and of other parts of the work too. At time in question, the basic meaning of *Blachi* was simply 'any Romanised group'; therefore, any population speaking a Neo-Latin language was or could be labelled *Blachi*. This is clear if we have a look at the very origin of Medieval form *Blachus*, pl. *Blachi*, which reflects the adaptation of Slavic *Vlachъ*, in its turn an adaptation of the Germanic form **walχaz*, which reflected an adaptation of the initial Celtic name *Volcae*, located in Central Europe. This ethnonym reflected, in fact, the fate of most ethnic groups after the Roman conquest: acculturation and the gradual loss of their original language as they became Latin speaking Romans. From the etymological point of view, the Celtic form spelled *Volcae* is related to *Wales* and *Welsh*, consequently with the whole series of forms derived from it.

In time, the Slavic form *Vlachъ*, borrowed as Greek Βλάχος, *Βλάχοι*, and its Latin counterpart *Blachus*, pl. *Blachi* were gradually restricted in their designation, and ultimately came to refer to TWO ethnic groups only:

a. the Italians, the current meaning in West Slavic, i.e. the Slavs who adopted the Catholic faith, cf. Polish *Włochy* 'Italy' or Czech *Vlašský dvůr* 'the Italian court'; or, in most cases later

b. the Romanians, a term spread among the Orthodox Slavs.

Anonymus used the ethnic name in its initial meaning, i.e. referring to any Romanised group. At the end of chapter IX, it clearly refers to a Romanised group located in Pannonia, possibly the last representatives of the Keszthely culture or its cultural heirs, who were *Blachi* as well. There was, in fact, no other option available to Anonymus in order to name those speakers of a Neo-Latin idiom. This latter meaning is the most widespread now, mainly with various political connotations, the basic one being motivated by the assumption that the ethnonym *Vlach(s), Vlakh(s)* may be used to refer to ethnic groups other than the Romanians *proprie dictu*.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

4. The form *Pastores romanorum* refers, beyond any doubt, to the transhumant shepherds of the Carpathian basin. They ultimately were *Blachi* as well, i.e. a group speaking a Neo-Latin idiom. Much ink has been used for the analysis of transhumance, including its interpretation as a kind of nomadism. This is the tableau described by Vásáry[9]. On p. XI for example (the introductory part), the terms *nomad* and *nomadism* occur eight times on the same page, and also subsequently. On p. 19, Vásáry write that "*Vlakh became synonymous with the nomadic shepherds of the Balkans, who, for the most part, spoke a Romance language, though other Slavic elements could also mingle with them*". His analysis appears to be a deliberate effort to equate nomadism and transhumance. This seems a politicisation of the issue rather than a serious approach to the problem of transhumance, as all the Neo-Latin groups usually practiced transhumance. The Romanians are just one example; others might be the French or the Spanish transhumant shepherds, a constant reality until now[10]. This is why Vásáry's analysis seems a pretext for paying the toll of some old historical disputes rather than a serious approach to Medieval history.

By way of summary let me observe again that Anonymus' analysis is entirely coherent, as he refers to:

1) to the Slavs located in our area, i.e. in Pannonia (*Sclavi*),

2) to the Balkan Slavs (*Bulgari*), with their frequent incursions north of the Danube,

3) to the Romanised population located in the area of Lake Balaton — *Blachi*, or the Keszthely culture, as it is referred to in the archaeological literature,

4) to the Romanian transhumant shepherds (*pastores Romanorum*).

One might observe how he organises his presentation: one pair of terms represented two Slavic groups (*Sclavi* and *Bulgari*), and the other, the Romanised groups (*Blachi* and *pastores Romanorum*). The *Rutheni* had been referred to earlier. It may be surmised, even if there is no direct reference to this point, that Anonymus made a cultural distinction too: *Blachi* represented

---

[9] VÁSÁRY 2005.

[10] There are many documentary movies on this old tradition, e.g. https://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/destinations/europe/spain/transhumance-festival-madrid/ [March 25, 2019; February 23, 2023].

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

the urban Romanised population, while *pastores Romanorum* reflected the rural, pastoral Romanised population. See also the *Addendum*, where I add a brief discussion of the Medieval Vlakhs/Vlachs.

With these considerations in mind, let me suggest a new translation of the relevant paragraph from the *Gesta Hungarorum*:

> „…The Slavs living in our area (in Pannonia, Sclavi), the Slavs coming from the Balkans (Bulgari), the Romanised groups located in our area, in Pannonia (Blachi) and the [transhumant] shepherds of the Romans, i.e. the transhumant Romanian shepherds."

I understand that this translation is somewhat long and perhaps too elaborated, but this is the only way to avoid confusion or misunderstanding. Anonymus is not only clear, he is entirely coherent and in full agreement with the historical data offered by other sources too. The paragraph is also consonant with other parts of his work.

2. Other ethnic names used in Gesta Hungarorum

It is useful to briefly enumerate other ethnic groups mentioned in Anonymus' chronicle.

The story Anonymus presents refers, first of all, to the Magyars (Hungarians), and it is clear that they represent the author's focus. In the Preface, the author refers to *Hetumoger*, in modern spelling *hét magyar* 'seven Magyars', i.e. the seven Magyar tribes led by seven leaders who had concluded an alliance. For a long time, many historians believed that *seven* is just a symbolic number, for example Popa-Lisseanu[11]. Newer research supports the hypothesis that there were indeed *seven* military leaders who concluded this alliance. This may or may not be relevant to our analysis. It is the task of Hungarian historians to clarify this detail, which is irrelevant from the perspective of this paper.

The second detail, this time certainly relevant, is that *Magyar* and *Ugor* were in competition as ways of referring to the same ethnic group. This competition has persisted into the present. The endonym *Magyar* (used by the Magyars themselves) exists alongside the form used by foreigners, i.e.

[11] POPA-LISSEANU 1934: 71, footnote 2.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Romanian *ungur*, but also *maghiar*; Eng. *Hungarian*, Fr. *Hongrois* etc. The form *Ugor* is seemingly of Turkic origin, while *Magyar* is of unknown origin.

The Roman numerals below refer to the chapters of Anonymus' text.

I. The main part of the story begins in *Scythia*, and is titled *Dentumoger*, where *Moger* is Anonymus' rendition of the modern form *Magyar*, and *Dentu* probably reflects the name of river *T(h)anais*, today the *Don*, at that time considered the frontier between Europe and Asia. The author therefore refers to the Hungarian groups located between the Don and the Black Sea: *„Scythia igitur maxima terra est, que Dentumoger dicitur, versus orientem, finis cuius ab aquilonali parte extenditur ad Nigrum Pontem".* This seems to be the oldest reference to the Black Sea with this name, *niger Pontus.* This region is considered to be the secondary homeland of Pre-Christian Magyars. *Mare Nigrum* is also used as an alternative for *niger Pontus*.

II. The author attempts to associate the ethnic name *Ugor* with the Ukrainian place name *Užgorod.* Comparative analyses show that *Ugor* originates in the form *Onoguri*, an ethnonym for a nomadic steppe group, whose way of life was similar to that of the Pre-Pannonic Magyars. The modern form is the result of successive respellings and deformations in the Byzantine and Medieval Latin documents culminating in the forms *Ungri, Ungari – Hungri, Hungari* currently used in various European languages. By folk etymology, supported by a long tradition, this ethnic name has also been associated to that of the Huns.

VII–VIII. The author discusses how the Magyars left the North Pontic area and settled in *Ruthenia*, i.e. Kiev Rus'. This Latin form was later used to refer to various Slavic groups derived from the initial groups labelled *Rutheni*. It is worth noting that Anonymus correctly distinguishes at least three Slavic groups: *Rutheni* (East Slavs), *Sclavi* (Central European Slavs) and *Bulgari* (Balkan Slavs).

IX. This chapter was analysed at the beginning of this paper. It is worth noting that in other parts of the text (e.g. chapters XI and XLVI) the ethnic name *Blachi* is also spelled *Blasi* and, in genitive plural, *terra Blacorum*. This latter form obviously refers to the precursors of the Romanians. The fact that all these Romanised groups are rendered *Blachi, Blasi* or *Blaci* (*terra Blacorum*) is not a fault of Anonymus, as he correctly used the form with reference to any Romanised group to which such a label may apply. It is

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

clear, I think, that the ethnic name *Blachi*, *Blasi*, *Blaci* should be interpreted, be it in some long, discursive fashion, by considering such historical and geographical details.

The Romanised population of Pannonia reappears in chapter XLVI, spelled *Romani*[12]. In chapter XI it is specified that the Romans had lived along the Danube, and that they had shepherds there. This is in full agreement with the details mentioned in chapter IX and XLVI.

XXV. Two ethnic names are used again: *Blasi* and *Sclavi*. In this particular case, it seems clear that *Blasi* refers to the Romanians. Popa-Lisseanu changes the original form *Blasi* into *Blachi*. This deformation is unjustified. Popa-Lisseanu seems compelled to reduce the references to Romanians in both chapter IX and here to the common spelling *Blachi*, distinguished from the form *Romani* in chapter XLVI. Both the Romanians and the Slavs are depicted negatively as having no weapons other than bows and arrows:

> „[...] et habitantes terre illius optimum esset, et ut ibi foderetur sal et salgenia, et habitatores terre illius viliores homines essent tocius mundi, quia essent Blasii et Sclavi, quia alia arma non haberent, nisi arcum et sagittas."

The Romanian name Gelou / Gelu is also referred to: *dux eorum Gelou*, who does not have good soldiers to oppose the Magyars.

LXIV. The ethnic name *Blachi, Blasi* is now used in the genitive plural: *Blacorum*, with clear reference to the Romanised population living in the Carpathians; the personal name *Glad* is also mentioned as belonging to the same Romanised group.

XLVI. „[...] *omnes Romani per terram Pannonie habitantes vitam fuga servaverunt"*, cf. chapter IX. Here, the Romanised groups located in Pannonia, labelled *Blachi* in chapter IX, are labelled *Romani*. They escape fighting by fleeing. The fact that the author uses two forms, or two spellings, with reference to the same ethnic group, is not at all rare in the history of ethnic names, from Antiquity to Modern times. In chapter IX, the author stressed the idea that they were *Blachi*, i.e. the heirs of a Romanised population. By using the form *Romani*, the authors stresses the idea that they

12 See n. 22 in Múcska's translation (MÚCSKA 2000: 125).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

were the heirs of glorious Rome, so the victory of the Magyars was consequently worth mentioning.

LI. *Sicli*, the Szeklers, Hu. *Székelyek*, Rom. *secui* are mentioned for the first time here. They continue to inhabit an area in eastern Transylvania known as *Székelyföld* 'the Szekler land'.

The ethnic names mentioned in the text are entirely consistent and do not need any emendation: seven Magyar groups or tribes (*Hetumoger*, Hungarian modern spelling *hét Magyar*) concluded an alliance and went south, where they settle in the land of Scythians (*Scythia*). Later, forced by adverse conditions, they moved north-west where they came into conflict with the Ruthenians (*Rutheni*, i.e. Kiev Russians). Defeated, they ultimately settled in Pannonia, where they found good conditions suitable for continued occupation and where they later established a political structure, which resisted the vagaries of history.

Once settled, they (the Magyars) encountered the Central European Slavs (*Sclavi*). These must be those Slavic groups calling themselves *Slověninъ*, pl. *Slověne*, and whose ethnic name was distorted and adapted in the Byzantine and Medieval Latin sources as *Sclaveni, Sklavenoi*, with a colloquial form derived from *Sclavi*[13]. They should be considered the precursors of the Slovaks and Slovenes, two Slavic groups still preserving the old ethnic name. The Magyars also encountered the Balkan Slavs, the Bulgarians (*Bulgari*), the Romanised population living in Pannonia around the lake of Balaton, known as the Keszthely culture (*Blachi*) and also the transhumant Romanian shepherds (*pastores Romanorum*)

In the following chapters, orthographic variants like *Blasi*, *Blaci* (gen. pl. *terra Blacorum*) are also used with reference to the Romanians as they are located east of the *Blachi* mentioned in chapter IX. These groups of Roman tradition are mentioned in chapter XLVI as *Romani*, entirely correctly.

Finally, the Szeklers (*Székelyek*) are mentioned as *Sicli*.

The ethnic tableau depicted by Anonymus is entirely coherent and fully in accordance with other historical details.

---

[13] Some scholars claim, without arguments, that the association *Slověninъ*, pl. *Slověne* ~ *slovo* 'word', therefore the *Slověne* would be 'those who speak our language, who use our words', is a folk etymology. To date, explaining *Slověninъ*, pl. *Slověne* as derived from *slovo* is the most attractive and entirely logical.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

3. Endonyms and exonyms

One of the most debated issues in the scientific literature, specifically when referring to prehistoric or protohistoric groups, is whether two (or more) spellings or different forms may refer to the same ethnic group. There is no rule of thumb applicable to all cases, but — in general — it is worth mentioning some clear examples in which a given ethnic group uses an ethnic name to refer to itself (an endonym) that is different from that used by foreigners (an exonym). Some clear, well-known examples are mentioned below (endonym ~ exonym):

Hellenoi ~ Graeci, the latter Latin form has become the usual name referring to the Greeks in all the European languages.

Deutsch ~ German, Slavic *Němec*; Tacitus used the form *Germani, Germania*. This ethnic name spread to all modern European languages, while the Slavs have always used a form derived from the adjective *něm-* 'dumb', obviously because they spoke a language they could not understand ('as if they were dumb'). There are, therefore, three forms referring to the same ethnic group, one an endonym, the other two exonyms. One may also add Fr. *allemand* and It. *tedesco*.

Euskara ~ Basque.

Suomi, Suomalasia ~ Finland, Finns etc.

The list of such endonym~exonym pairs is of course longer. It may be the topic of another paper.

The fact that Anonymus uses *Blachi*, with its graphical variants *Blaci, Blasi* to refer to various Romanised groups is not surprising, as this was the meaning of the Medieval Latin form *Blachus,* pl. *Blachi*. The fact that it was later restricted to two ethnic groups, both speaking Neo-Latin languages, the Italians (in West Slavic) and the Romanians (East Slavic) is not unexpected either, as it reflected specific historical conditions in continuous change. Anonymus used, therefore, both *Blachi* and *Romani* with reference to the same ethnic groups or to closely related groups depending on what he intended to underline: that they spoke a Neo-Latin language or that they continued the glory of Rome.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

It should be noted in passing that various ethnic names have had different connotations in the course of history. To remain approximately in the same area, I might just mention the connotation of *Illyrian* in the Modern period. Before the 19th century, Illyrian was associated with the Croatians, while in the second part of that century, it was incorporated into the Albanian historical narrative, and has remained as such into our own times[14].

4. A comparative analysis of some translations of end of chapter IX

4.1. The original

> [end of chapter IX]
>
> „Dicebant enim, quod ibi confluerent nobilissimi fontes aquarum, danubius et tyscia, et alij nobilissimi fontes bonis piscibus habundantes. Quem terram habitarent sclauij, Bulgarij et Blachij, ac pastores romanorum. Quia post mortem athila regis terram pannonie romani dicebant pascua esse, eo quod greges eorum in terra pannonie pascebantur. Et iure terra pannonie pascua romanorum esse dicebatur, nam et modo romani pascuntur de bonis Hungarie."

4.2. Translation into English by Martyn Rady

> "For they said that there flowed the most noble spring waters, the Danube and Tisza [Tyscia] and other most noble springs, abounding in good fish, in which land there lived the Slavs [Sclavi], Bulgarians [Bulgarii] and Vlachs [Blachii], and the shepherds of the Romans [pastores Romanorum] (note 42). For after the death of King Attila, the Romans said the land of Pannonia was pastureland because their flocks grazed in the land of Pannonia. And rightly is the land of Pannonia said to be the pastureland of the Romans, for now too the Romans graze on the goods of Hungary. (note 43)"

Rady adds two footnotes: one refer to a study of Denis Deletant while note 43, runs: 'The meaning of this sarcastic aside is obscure'.

---

[14] See the studies collected and grouped in ŠIDAK 1990.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

4.3. Translation into Slovak by Vincent Múcska:

> "Rozprávali (mu) totiž, že sa tam zlievajú vody najvynikajúcejších riek, Dunaja, Tisy a ďalších znamenitých tokov, oplývajúcich dobrými rybami, (a že) tú zem obývajú Slovania, Bulhari, Valasi a pastieri Rimanov (note 22). Lebo po smrti kráľa Atilu Rimania hovorili, že panónska krajina je pastvinou – pásli sa tam totiž ich stáda. A oprávnene sa vraví, že panónska krajina je pastvinou Rimanov, lebo aj (teraz sa) Rimania pasú z bohatstiev Uhorska."

Múcska's note (22) on the passage reflects the translator's careful analysis of the original, as he correctly notes the unclear meaning of the ethnic name *Blachi*, even if his choice (*Valasi*) is not a good one. Nevertheless, he is quite close to a correct interpretation.

4.4. Translations into Romanian:

The two translations available to me have one common denominator. They both translate *Blachi* as 'Romanians'. Regarding Tonciulescu's translation, I note that he preserves the Latin form *Blachi*, but adds that these *Blachi* must be 'the Romanians living in Pannonia' (note 7, p. 29). Madgearu (see footnote 5) assumes, given his 'translation', that the ethnic names Anonymus mentions in act two [sic!] are 'the Bulgarian Slavs' and the 'Romanian shepherds'.

4.4.1. G. Popa-Lisseanu

> „Căci spuneau că acolo curg cele mai renumite isvoare de ape, Dunărea și Tisa și alte prea vestite ape, pline cu pește bun. Că această țară o locuiesc Sclavii, Bulgarii și Blachii, adecă păstorii Romanilor. Fiindcă, după moartea regelui Athila, pământului Pannoniei Romanii îi ziceau că este pășune, fiindcă turmele lor păşteau în țara Pannoniei. Și cu drept cuvânt se spunea că pământul Pannoniei ar fi pășunile Romanilor, fiindcă și acum Romanii pasc pe moșiile Ungariei."

4.4.2. P. L. Tonciulescu[15]

> „Căci ziceau că acolo se unesc cele mai vestite izvoare ale apelor, Danubius și Tyscia și alte izvoare foarte vestite, pline cu pești buni. Pe care

[15] TONCIULESCU 1996.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

țară o locuiesc sclavii, bulgarii și blachii, chiar și păstorii romanilor. Pentru că, după moartea regelui Athila, romanii spuneau că țara Pannoniei este pășune, deoarece turmele lor pășteau în țara Pannoniei. Și pe drept se spune că țara Pannoniei este pășunea romanilor, căci și acum pasc din bunurile Ungariei."

5. Addendum

During the discussion at a conference in Bratislava, Maja Matasović suggested that the opposition *Blachi* ~ *pastores Romanorum* may reflect the opposition between 'urban Romanised groups' (*Blachi*) and 'rural, i.e. pastoral, groups' (*pastores Romanorum*). She referred to the notable studies by Z. Mirdita[16]. Mirdita does indeed offer a valuable and complete analysis of the historical, social and political conditions under which the Medieval Romanised groups of the Balkans (*Vlachs, Vlakhs*, Croatian *Vlasi*) lived. Mirdita's analyses are too complex to be considered here in full. They simply support the basic idea that these Romanised groups, whose lifestyle included transhumance and a specific social organisation, had a crucial role in preserving an old cultural tradition through the long period from Late Antiquity to the Modern Age.

Acknowledgements

The author expresses his thanks to Shelly Harrison for his comments on the text.

Bibliography

BESAN 1899	Besan, M. *Cronica Notarului anonim al regelui Bela. Faptele ungurilor.* Tradusă din limba latină de Mihail Bésán. Sibiu, Tipariul Tipografiei Archidiecesane.
MADGEARU 2005	Madgearu, A., *The Romanians in the Anonymous GESTA HUNGARORUM. Truth and Fiction*, Bibliotheca Rerum Transsilvaniae XXXIV, Romanian Cultural Institute, Cluj-Napoca.
MIRDITA 2004	Mirdita, Z., *Vlasi u historiografiji*, Hrvatski institut za povijest, Zagreb.

[16] MIRDITA 2004; MIRDITA 2009.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

MIRDITA 2009	Mirdita, Z., *Vlasi starobalkanski narod (od povijesne pojave do danas)*, Hrvatski institut za povijest, Zagreb.
MÚCSKA 2000	Múcska, V., *Kronika anonymného notára kráľa Bela Gesta Hungarorum*. Latin text with translation into Slovak, RAK, Bratislava.
PALIGA 2015	Paliga, S., *Sclavi, Bulgari, Blachi ac pastores Romanorum*, in: C. Geambașu (coord.), *Omagiu profesorului Ioan Rebușapcă la 80 de ani*, Ed. RCR Editorial, București, 467–476.
PALIGA 2016a	Paliga, S., *Etnicitatea mileniului I: studii de caz în drumul spre o analiză globală*, in: B. Ciupercă (ed), *Arheologia mileniului I p. Chr., vol. V: Identități și schimburi culturale în mileniul I p. Chr*, Ed. Istros, Brăila, 309–319.
PALIGA 2016b	Paliga, S., *Terram uero, que est a fluuio Morus usque ad castrum Vrscia (Anonymus, Gesta Hungarorum, VI)*, in: D. Micle (ed.), *Arheovest III. In honorem Adrian Bejan*, JATEPress Kiadó. Szeged, 861–872.
PALIGA, TEODOR 2009	Paliga, S., Teodor, E. S., *Lingvistica și arheologia slavilor timpurii. O altă vedere de la Dunărea de Jos*, Ed. Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște.
POPA-LISSEANU 1934	Popa-Lisseanu, G. (ed.) *Anonymi Bele Regis Notarii Gesta Hungarorum*, Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanorum, I, București.
RADY 2009	Rady, M., *The Gesta Hungarorum of Anonymus, the anonymous notary of King Béla*, in: *Slavonic and East European Review*, 87, 4, 681-727.
TONCIULESCU 1996	Tonciulescu, P. L., *Cronica notarului Anonymus Faptele ungurilor*, Ed. Miracol, București.
ŠIDAK 1990	Šidak, J., *Hrvatski narodni preporod ilirski pokret,* II, izdanje, Školska knjiga, Zagreb.
VÁSÁRY 2005	Vásáry, I., *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans 1185–1365*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

For the ƿ? A scribal error in the Isruna Tract (Cod. Sang. 270), with a few notes on the afterlife of a floating signifier

CHRISTIAN MAIR*

Abstract: Starting out from a misreading of a runic character (ƿ) in a 9th-century manuscript housed at *Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen* (Cod. Sang. 270), the paper documents the long afterlife of this semiotic resource in English. Cut off from its original context of use, it was recycled as a consciously archaic spelling in the transition from Medieval manuscript to Early Modern print culture. It has survived into the present for its decorative and ornamental value, on the basis of which it is sometimes marketed as an economic commodity. Traditional philological expertise and state-of-the-art ("Third Wave") sociolinguistic theory are needed to account for the full complexity of these processes.

Keywords: *Old English; runic alphabet; futhorc; archaism; semiotics; orthography; commodification; word play.*

1. Setting the scene

The present contribution begins with close philological analysis of a scribal error in an early Medieval manuscript and uses this example as a starting point for a more general discussion of how theoretical concepts taken from "Third Wave" sociolinguistics[1], such as *enregisterment*[2] and

* Englisches Seminar, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, D 79085 Freiburg, Germany; christian.mair@anglistik.uni-freiburg.de.

1 ECKERT 2012.

2 AGHA 2003; JOHNSTONE 2016.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

commodification[3], can help understand the sometimes curious afterlife of elements from Old English in contemporary language and popular culture. I hope that readers sceptical of this strange coupling will agree that it has yielded some original insights on the links between the very remote past and the vibrant present of the English language.

Within the discipline of English, the study of Old English is generally considered a sub-branch that is currently experiencing profound transformation, if not crisis. From a once secure position at the core of the English Studies canon, Old English has moved to the periphery of attention for many and – as a result – Old English studies have had to reinvent themselves in multiple ways in recent decades. Thus, revival of interest is expected from the re-reading of Old English texts in the light of contemporary literary theory; in linguistics, the vast body of knowledge accumulated on the structure and historical development of Old English[4] is a gold mine waiting to be exploited for modern-diachronic approaches to the study of language change, such as grammaticalisation theory.

As befits a festschrift, a few personal comments may be in order to make the general developments concrete in the specific example. The author of the present contribution joined the English Department of Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg in 1990, at a time that seems long ago, but also a time that Adrian Poruciuc had already been a regular and much appreciated academic visitor for many years. When the two of us first met, the Department was an international beacon in research on Old and Middle English, represented by scholars of the stature of Herbert Pilch, Hildegard Tristram, Ursula Schaefer and Lilo Moessner. Oswald Szemerényi was the Chair of General Linguistics and a renowned Indo-Europeanist, and in the History Department Gottfried Schramm was as much an expert on the history of place names across Eastern and South-Eastern Europe as on the history of the region's peoples, kingdoms and states. In those days, I would not have felt it necessary to offer classes on Old English myself, but was happy to learn from all these eminent scholars.

---

3 JOHNSTONE 2009.

4 For example, MITCHELL 1985, a truly monumental compendium.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

This is different today, and I do feel the need to offer classes on aspects of Old English grammar at least once in a while, usually in an "inviting" format that explores the facts of Old English in a trilateral contrastive comparison with Modern English and Modern German. To make students aware of the role of early Medieval Britain in the cultural history of continental Europe and to give them the opportunity to appreciate original manuscripts, some of these classes include study trips to Épinal in France or St. Gaul / St. Gallen in Switzerland, where important Old English and Old Irish textual witnesses are housed. Very popular among students visiting St. Gallen is Codex Sangallensis 270, which contains the Isruna Tract, a short text that was presumably written to offer novices diversion from the hard study of Latin and theology by introducing them to the mysteries of the Futhorc, the Anglo-Saxon runic alphabet.

2. The Isruna Tract: Connections between early Medieval Britain and Ireland and the Lake Constance region

Having been established in the 8th century, the *Stiftsbibliothek* (monastic library) of St. Gallen is the oldest library in Central Europe with an uninterrupted working tradition. As a working research library, it even survived the secularisation of the Benedictine Monastery that maintained it for over a thousand years. Today, the vast monastic complex and the library – both refurbished in the grand baroque architectural idiom of the 18th century – are a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The monastery is named after the subsequently sainted Gallus, an itinerant 7th century Irish missionary who eventually set up a hermitage in the area. The close links to the British Isles were maintained throughout the early centuries of the monastery, which is reflected to this day in an exceptional number of important Old Irish and Old English texts among the library's manuscripts, such as the 9th century Old Irish glosses to Priscian's Latin grammar (Codex Sang. 904) and an early version of Bede's Death Song (Codex Sang. 254). As the Isruna Tract features the Anglo-Saxon version of the Germanic runic alphabet, it must be seen in this context.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The Tract is bound together with a diverse collection of other texts and appears on page 52 of the bound volume[5]. The manuscript has been digitised as part of the Swiss *e-codices* initiative[6] and is available as a digital facsimile, with extensive commentary[7]. The top of the page presents the Anglo-Saxon futhorc in its traditional order, with names for the runes and approximations of their sound values provided in Latin letters. Immediately below this, the runes are re-arranged following the Latin alphabetical order. As the futhorc does not map onto the Latin alphabet one-to-one, some Latin letters are assigned more than one runic value. The text then goes on to present an encryption system that has survived to the present day. The 28 runes are divided into three portions (portion I with the first 9, portion II with the second 9, and portion III comprising the remaining 10). Within the sections, the runic signs are numbered from 1 to 9, or 10). The Latin word *corvi* (plural, "ravens") serves as an example to show how the secret code works: The first letter of this word is coded ı.IIIIII (i.e. first section, sixth rune), and so on. **Fig. 1** presents the first eight runes of the Anglo-Saxon futhorc.

We read *feh*, *uur*, *dorn*, *oos*, *rat*, *cen*, *gebo* and *huun*. As for ƿ, the rune in focus here, we get the expected "double u" <uu> transliteration, and the spelling <huun> is plausible variant of *wyn(n)* "joy". **Fig. 2** shows the re-arranged (ABC …) ordering following the Latin alphabet.

As can be seen, *wynn* is now listed as a variant of *thorn*, corresponding to the Latin letter <d>. What we can also see (from the full manuscript page not represented here) is that the first set has 28 runes, while the second gives us 30. Due to the lower number of Latin letters, this means that one and the same Latin letter may correspond to different runic symbols, and *wynn* is definitely not the only case of this happening. Whatever the reason for the differences between the two lists may be, one thing seems certain. As they are both more copious than the Latin alphabet, the secret code had potential to encrypt other languages than Latin, though the Latin word *corvi* supplies the demonstration case.

[5] For a detailed description of the collection, including palaeographic evidence see BERGMANN *et al.* 2005: 518-519; for comments on the Tract itself see SCHMUKI *et al.* 1998: 72-73.

[6] See English-language survey website at https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en.

[7] https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0270/52/0/.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

However, the treatment of ƿ in the two lists is so obviously inconsistent that even one of the timid young scholars studying the Tract at the time might have been tempted to ask his stern schoolmaster for the reason. After all, this rune was presented in a historically correct fashion (as representing the semi-vowels [w] or [ʍ]) in the original line-up, but was treated as a variant of Þ, which conventionally represented the dental fricative, in the second line-up. The explanation involving least speculation is to take it as a sign that – by the 9th century – not even the manuscript's author had a firm grasp of the futhorc and made an error that was facilitated by the formal similarity between the two runic signs. As we know from the subsequent history of the English language, the very same error was to become much more common during the centuries that followed.

3. The long and convoluted afterlife of ƿ

In fact, the error mentioned at the end of the preceding section has given us pseudo-archaic spellings of the type illustrated in **Fig. 3**.

Somewhat unexpectedly, *ye olde* has an OED entry in its own right that suggests that the spelling pronunciation ([jɪ ˈəʊld] or even [jɪ ˈəʊldiː]) has become the normal one today. Historically, however, *ye* started out as a mere spelling variant, in which the runic character Þ (thorn) was used instead of <th>. As in the course of the centuries more and more people started confusing Þ (thorn) and ƿ (wynn), the article might have appeared as Þ*e* or ƿ*e* in Middle English manuscripts. These spellings survived well into the XVth century (compare, for example, the OED entries for *ye olde* and *the*). As long as people wrote by hand, confusion between the two similar-looking runic signs was not likely to irritate anyone, given the relatively minor graphical differences, but when printing came to Britain from the Continent in the late XVth century, neither character was included in the imported fonts that served as models, and this is the point at which printers settled for <Y, y> as the visually closest equivalent. Although this is not evidence in the strict sense, it is interesting to see that if one sets *ye* in what modern typographers often refer to as "Old English" font, the first letter of the resulting *ye* looks deceptively like a modern-day version of the ƿ.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Ye/ye thus is not a complete language-historical fossil, graphical detritus that has been left behind, but still has some life in it. It is semiotic raw matter that serves as a conscious decorative archaism and is particularly productive in ironical and satirical use. This re-birth is definitely not as spectacular as that experienced by the instrumental singular of the Old English weak demonstrative (þ*y* or *thȳ*), which has risen from the ashes as a correlative conjunction (compare, for instance, *The more I learn, the more I'm shocked!*).

As the following results of a search for *ye olde* in the 1.9 billion-word Corpus of Global Web-based English[8] shows, the form was alive and well in the year 2013, the sampling date for this huge digital corpus, in L1 varieties of English and some post-colonial L2 varieties, and there is not a single national variety among the 20 sampled for this corpus in which it is not attested at all (**Fig. 4**).

The way these frequencies should be read is as follows. Choosing the example of Irish English (IE), the figures show that this portion of the corpus contains 32 examples coming from a total of 101 million words of text, which works out to a normalised frequency of 0.32 per million words. This last value is the relevant one for comparison across the 20 national subcorpora (and also the value underpinning the bar charts in the bottom row).

As for the wider cultural afterlife of the Germanic runic alphabets, some of their characters have of course been tainted through association with National Socialism and related pernicious and criminal ideologies. Nevertheless, the Anglo-Saxon futhorc continues to serve as a linguistic/semiotic resource in the popular culture(s) of the English-speaking world in more innocent ways, as well – and in ways that lend themselves to being studied in contemporary Third Wave sociolinguistics. As Eckert (2012) argues, First Wave sociolinguistic approaches study spontaneous vernacular use of nonstandard varieties in order to establish statistical correlations between extralinguistic social variables that are seen as independent and dependent linguistic variables. In other words: What I am determines the way I speak. Second Wave approaches refine the analysis by careful examination of the ethnographic context of variation, thus also taking

[8] GloWbE, see DAVIES, FUCHS 2015.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

communities' own language attitudes and ideologies seriously. Third Wave approaches go beyond this by reversing the perspective. Rather than study how language reflects identity, sociolinguists now also explore how speakers consciously use their linguistic resources to create or project their identities. First and Second Wave sociolinguists generally did not pay a lot of attention to the role nonstandard varieties play outside the vernacular communities that speak them. Third Wave researchers, however, recognize the importance of such uses in public spheres of communication in which vernaculars are increasingly not just used spontaneously, but performed consciously for specific communicative purposes, and not necessarily only by people who would be considered natural users. They have also begun to tackle the vast linguistic diversity that has emerged in the contemporary media landscape. Media representations of nonstard varieties have become *enregistered*[9]. As conventional stylizations, they are no longer exclusively judged by how similar they are to the "real thing." What is important is a consistent link between linguistic form, social meaning and expected cultural behaviour that exists in the community and helps the interpretation. Where, as is often the case in the media, money talks, such enregistered nonstandard varieties easily become monetised or *commodified*. This is impressively borne out by the case of African-American Vernacular English, which is still heavily stigmatised as a vernacular in the contemporary United States. In its enregistered form of Hip Hop Nation Language[10], however, it has gained considerable cultural prestige, not only within the African-American community, but also in global youth culture throughout the English-speaking world and beyond, for example in Germany and Romania. The enregistered dialect has become part of a package that earns the performers and the music industry billions every year. Barbara Johnstone has investigated similar processes in the case of working-class Pittsburghese. At the same time that the fortunes of the Pittsburgh steel industry have taken a dive and the city's traditional working-class base has eroded, the enregistered version of its dialect continues to be marketed on tee-shirts, mugs and similar merchandise. It is in this more modest niche that the

[9] JOHNSTONE 2016.
[10] ALIM 2015.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

futhorc also turns up as a kind of linguistic commodity. Teepublic ("Designs as Original as You") offers both Pittsburghese (**Fig. 5**) and futhorc (**Fig. 6**) on their shirts.

Many years ago, and long before the advent of Third Wave approaches in sociolinguistics, the author of the present contribution happened to meet a doctoral student at a conference who at the time had a sideline as a purveyor of bespoke tee-shirts. His homepage – now defunct – suggested the following design (**Fig. 7**).

This textual/textile document is still in my possession. If at the time I had been asked what motivated my purchase, I would have answered that the slogan looked like a good linguistic joke. Equipped with the tools of Third Wave sociolinguistics and analysing things retrospectively, I am afraid I shall have to come to a more sinister conclusion. The identity statement made by the buyer and occasional wearer of this tee-shirt contains an element of self-promotion, a desire to present onself as a member of a very small elite of linguistic scholars, such as Adrian Poruciuc, who know that /ð/ is not just a sign for the voiced dental fricative in the IPA phonetic alphabet, but also served as a letter in the Old English writing system, still does so in the orthography of Modern Icelandic, and that the rune used in the third word may look like Þ, but is ƿ.

Bibliography

AGHA 2003	Agha, A. *The social life of cultural value*, in: *Language and Communication*, 23, 231-73.
ALIM 2015	Alim, H. S. *Hip hop nation language: localization and globalization*, in: S. Lanehart (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of African American language*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 850-863.
BERGMANN *et al.* 2015	Bergmann, R., Stricker, S., Goldammer, Y., Wich-Reif, C. (eds.), *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
DAVIES, FUCHS 2015	Davies, M., Fuchs, R., *Expanding horizons in the study of World Englishes with the 1.9 billion word* Global Web-Based English Corpus *(GloWbE)*, in: *English World-Wide*, 36, 1-28.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

ECKERT 2012 Eckert, P., *Three waves of variation study: the emergence of meaning in the study of variation*, in: *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41, 87-100.

JOHNSTONE 2009 Johnstone, B., *Pittsburghese shirts: commodification and the enregisterment of an urban dialect*, in: *American Speech*, 84, 157-175.

JOHNSTONE 2016 Johnstone, B., *Enregisterment: how linguistic items become linked with ways of speaking*, in: *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 10, 632-643.

MITCHELL 1985 Mitchell, B., *Old English syntax*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

SCHMUKI *et al.* 1998 Schmuki, K., Ochsenbein, P., Dora, C. (eds.), *Cimelia Sangallensia: Hundert Kostbarkeiten aus der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, Verlag am Klosterhof, St. Gallen.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

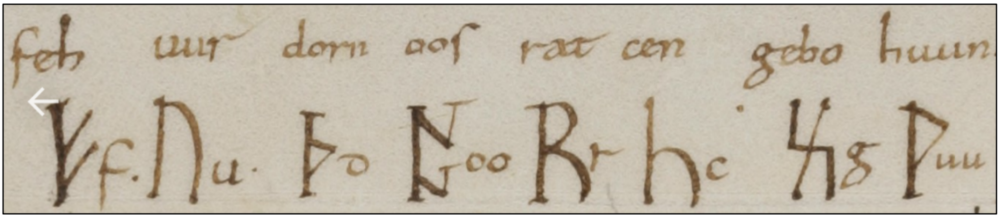


Fig. 1. Cod. Sang. 270, p. 52 – futhorc in traditional order.

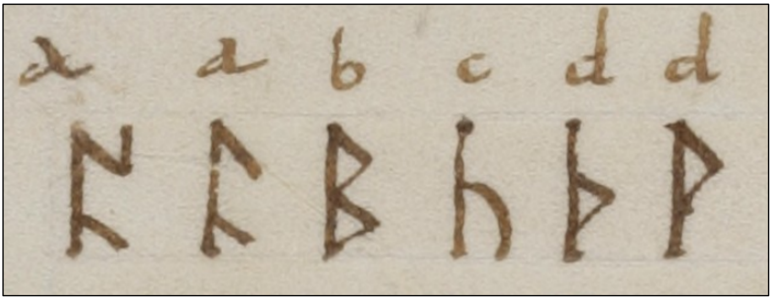


Fig. 2. Cod. Sang. 270, p. 52 – futhorc, re-arranged.

Fig. 3. Ye Olde Cheshire Cheese – traditional pub, 145 Fleet Street, London EC4 (https://englishlanguagethoughts.com/2017/03/16/ye-olde-thorn-in-my-side/).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

SECTION	ALL	US	CA	GB	IE	AU	NZ	IN	LK	PK	BD	SG	MY	PH	HK	ZA	NG	GH	KE	TZ	JM
FREQ	453	130	24	128	32	56	19	3	1	3	1	12	9	6	9	3	2	1	8	3	3
WORDS (M)	1900	386.8	134.8	387.6	101.0	148.2	81.4	96.4	46.6	51.4	39.5	43.0	41.6	43.2	40.5	45.4	42.6	38.8	41.1	35.2	39.6
PER MIL	0.24	0.34	0.18	0.33	0.32	0.38	0.23	0.03	0.02	0.06	0.03	0.28	0.22	0.14	0.22	0.07	0.05	0.03	0.19	0.09	0.08

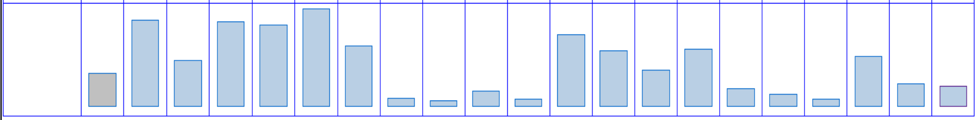


Fig. 4. *ye olde* in GloWbE.

Fig. 5. Commodified Pittsburghese (https://www.teepublic.com/long-sleeve-t-shirt/2379763-pittsburghese-the-unique-language-of-western-penns).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Fig. 6. The commodified futhorc (https://www.teepublic.com/t-shirt/27816391-runic-alphabet-elder-futhark-runes).

Fig. 7. Commodified rune (own photo).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

On the etymology of Greek ἀράχνη ‘spider’

JOHN D. BENGTSON*, CORINNA LESCHBER**

Abstract: This is a short etymological sketch on Greek ἀράχνη ‘spider’ and its deep-level linguistic connections as well as the symbolism of spiders in mythology and popular beliefs. Connections are presented between the Greek word and various non-Indo-European languages from the Pyrenees and the Caucasus.

Keywords: *Etymology; Greek language; Pre-Greek substratum; Euskaro- Caucasian.*

1. The symbolism of spiders in mythology and popular beliefs

In the mythologies all over the world spiders own an important position[1], as a (clan) totem animal and creator of the universe. This allows the conclusion, that the spider symbolism is extremely old. Mircea Eliade[2] found corroborations for the role of spiders in Siberian myths concerning the origin of Shamans. In the native American cultures, the Spider Grandmother occupies a central position in the cosmogony[3]. Beneath the importance of the spider in the cosmology and in ancient oral traditions, as in African traditional folklore as a trickster or a god[4], it is a symbol for a spinner and a

* Association for the Study of Language in Prehistory, Santa Fe, USA: palaeojdb@hotmail.com.
** Institute for Linguistic and Cross-Cultural Studies in Berlin, Germany: leschber@institute-lccs.com.

1 COOPER 1992: 214-215.
2 ELIADE 1972: 68.
3 TAYLOR 1994: 35.
4 LEE 1930: 15, COURLANDER 1996: 136.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

weaver, for example in the Sumerian, Greek and Roman pantheons. In the very archaic Slavic mythology, the spider has contradictory functions, since on the one hand it embodies impurity, and on the other it protects the home, and it plays a role in rituals for invoking rain. In certain areas it should not be killed because of its demiurgic importance. It is seen as a mediator between heaven and earth and is implied in magical rituals for the invoking of love, as in popular medicine, too[5].

From a European perspective, the origin of the spider is often seen in a Greek myth, where a weaving competition between the Greek goddess Athena (or Minerva in Roman mythology, Ovid)[6] and princess Arachne led to her being cursed from the side of Athena, due to Athena's jealousy of Arachne's perfect weaving abilities. This resulted in the transformation of the cursed Arachne to a spider. This myth is held to be of Lydian origin, probably having a historical explanation[7]. The Lydian empire once covered half of Asia Minor. The latter holds a significant geographical position in the transmission of Euskaro-Caucasian word material via the Balkan route in a Neolithic context.

2. Etymology

Although an IE etymology of Greek ἀράχνη f. 'spider' has been supposed, a substratum/Pre-Greek origin of the word is more likely. Even Pokorny[8] is not convinced of the link between the Greek word and a random IE root, as proposed by Walter[9].

Beekes sees it as a Mediterranean loanword[10], the etymology of the Latin *arānea* 'spider, spider's web' (genitive *arāneae*, first declension), der. *arāneus* is not clear either. Whether the Greek word is the source of the Latin

[5] GURA 2004: 646-648.
[6] FLEMESTAD *et al*. 2017: 274, ORLIN 2016: 633-634; GRAF 2006.
[7] GRAVES 1955: 100.
[8] POKORNY 1959, I: 61.
[9] WALTER 1863: 377.
[10] BEEKES 2010: 123-124.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

term, or they both originated from a different source, is unclear: de Vaan[11] admits that the Greek and Latin word could have been independently borrowed from a common source **araksn*. Greek ἀράχνη is the feminine form of ἀράχνης 'spider web'.

A similar pattern has been observed in countless other cases of etymologically unexplained Mediterranean words, too:

> "a word occurs both in Latin and Greek, without a convincing Indo-European etymology, which can be verified in relevant etymological dictionaries like that of de Vaan (2008) and Beekes (2010). Often there are cognates in Basque or substratum words stemming from Basque in Ibero-Romance dialects, in the dialects of South France, Italy, in the Balkans and Greece, in the Alps and Pyrenees and other mountainous regions, in the toponymy of Asia Minor and the Caucasus area."[12].

The Greek and the Latin words show the typical prefix *a-* found often in substratum-words[13]: the **a*-prefix is perhaps a definite article, according to Schrijver[14], Iversen and Kroonen[15], and Matasović[16], cf. PSl **rěpa* (a), 'turnip' (non-PIE 'turnip', **rap* ~ **a–rb*). This has been labeled Schrijver's rule. Another important feature can be observed, too: Hamp's European *a-*: Hamp[17], "*argues, for instance, that widespread etymological confusion between *a and *o across northwestern Indo-European languages (sometimes a merger of the two vowels) suggests a substrate language lacking that distinction*." This is the so-called European *a*, acc. to Salmons[18]. Other important features are the assignment to certain semantic fields, in most cases to the fields of plant names, animal names and topographic terms and an observable oscillation in gender of the Greek and the Latin forms[19].

---

11 DE VAAN 2008: 49-50.

12 BENGTSON, LESCHBER 2022b.

13 See in LESCHBER 2020.

14 SCHRIJVER 1997: 312.

15 IVERSEN, KROONEN 2017: 517–518, Table 2.

16 MATASOVIĆ 2020.

17 HAMP 1990: 297.

18 SALMONS 2015: 104.

19 BENGTSON, LESCHBER 2022b; LESCHBER 2009.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

From the perspective of the settings of the Euskaro-Caucasian substratum hypothesis and the argumentation in BCR and Bengtson & Leschber[20] we postulate:

> Pre-Greek **araksnā-* (Beekes) = **araχc-n-* (metathesis of) **χ:aracV-n*
> Greek & Latin < **araksn-* (de Vaan).

NCED (1068) and TOB (North Caucasian etymology) cite:

> Proto-North Caucasian (PNC): **χarVcwV* / **caχwVrV* 'spider', see Proto-Avaro-Andian: **χ:aracV-n* (~ *o*), Proto-Lak: *χ:aIlcu* (i.e. *χ:ạlcu* = *χạ̄lcu*, with a pharyngeal first vowel), Proto-Lezghian: **χarVs*^{w} / **χas*^{w}*Vr* and Proto-West Caucasian: **p-šaχ*^{w}*a* (~ *-s-*).
>
> Notes: The root is expressive and subject to irregular changes (metatheses etc.), therefore the reconstruction is rather tentative. Some other EC forms can be regarded also as very irregular reflexes of the same root:
>
> cf. P[roto-]D[argwa] **qisqa* (Ak. *qisqa*, Chir. *qisqa-ne* etc.), Bezht. (Khaid.) *kala-ʁasqï* (with further transformations: Gunz. *kɔlɔqï* / *halaki*) 'spider'; see also comments to Andian and Lezghian reflexes.
>
> Despite all these difficulties (rather expected in a word meaning 'spider'), the root seems more or less reliably reconstructible for Proto-East Caucasian.

Some very speculative brainstorming leads us to the following tentative etymology:

> Proto-Avaro-Andian **χ:aracV-n* < PNC **χarVcwV* / **caχwVrV*
> Andi *misq:ara* < **mV-caχwVrV* (?)
> Godoberi *nusaχar* < **nu-caχwVrV* (?)
> Tindi *isq:ara* < **im-caχwVrV* (?) or **ʔila-caχwVrV* 'mother spider' (see below).

Would the nasal 'prefixes' be metatheses of **-n* in Proto-Avaro-Andian **χ:aracV-n* (?) or conversely, Karata *χ:arazan* < **χ:araza-m* = metathesis of **mV-caχwVrV* (?).

Could this nasal-prefix be related to an original meaning **mother**-spider (see above, about the Native American Spider Grandmother)? It could well be: It fits with Basque (A, B, G) /amarratza/ (see below), since /ama/ is

[20] BENGTSON, LESCHBER 2019; BENGTSON, LESCHBER 2021; BENGTSON, LESCHBER 2023.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Basque for 'mother'. The last segment of *ama-**arac(a)** fits with the Greco-Latin *araksn-. This may be a formation parallel to Tindi /isqara/, if it is from *ʔila-caχwVrV (Tindi *ila* 'mother'). See also, below, about North Caucasian words for 'mother' like *baba, babá*, etc., and Basque forms like aiña-*barbariña* 'spider'.

In order to get a complete picture of a presumably Euskaro-Caucasian base for the Mediterranean words, we have to consider the Basque word:

> Araban {amarrasça}[21] = *amarratza* = **amaṙac-* (-*a* article); *amarratz* is also attested in B and G (OEH *hamarratz* 'spider, octopus, crab'[22];
> < **am-aṙàKc-* (?)
> or
> **amaṙàKc* = metathesis of Proto-Avaro-Andian **mV-caχwVrV* > Andi *misq:ara*.

Amarratz is only attested in non-aspirating dialects, so it could come from either **Ham-aṙàKc-* (if, as usual, Basque /h/ corresponds to PNC **χ*: see BCR 167-69) or **am-aṙàKc-* (if the interpretation is 'mother spider'). Or the standardized Basque *hamarratz* 'spider; octopus; crab' could have been influenced by *hamar* 'ten' (see below).

Agud & Tovar opine that "it seems certain that in its meaning 'octopus, spider, crab' [*amarratz*] is a compound of *amar* 'ten' and *atz* 'finger', according to Moguel who gives as an equivalent *atzamar* (Mich. FHV 276)"[23]. However, these creatures have *eight* limbs, not ten, and Bizkaian *atzamar* 'finger' seems to be a folk-etymological distortion (contaminated with Basque *hama-ṙ 'ten') of original *hac- taba-ṙ, as seen in the archaic Lapurdian form *haztapar* 'paw, claw', (Z) *aztápar* 'paw; (worker's) hand', (AN-Esteribar, BN, Bzt, R) *aztapar* 'paw', etc. (cf. Dargwa *kač'a* 'paw', *t'up'* 'finger' < PNC *kwăčẹ̄ 'paw', *ṭwəbi 'finger' - NCED 704, 819, 1007; see BCR, etymologies A.68, A.70, M.7).

In view of the above-mentioned reconstructed forms, the following underlying forms seem plausible to us:

---

[21] LANDUCCI 1562.
[22] AGUD, TOVAR 1988: III-848, 900.
[23] AGUD, TOVAR 1988: III-849, citing MICHELENA 1961.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

A R A K S N/M
A M A R A K C
X A R A C W A N

The Basque words for 'spider' encompass a vast array of variants, which may or may not be related to Araban {amarrasça}. As in North Caucasian, the "root is expressive and subject to irregular changes (metatheses etc.)." - NCED (1068).
More Basque material:

> *arm(i)arma* - AN, G, L
> *arbiama* - BN-Aldude
> *armamio* - BN-Aldude
> [*armamoi* - AN-Ulzama]
> *marasma* - B
> *marmara* - [POUVREAU's dictionary]
> (TRASK 1997: 302 | dialectal designations from AZKUE).
>
> *aiña-barbariña* R, *aiña-borma* BN, *aiñamerma* R, *aiñamarma* R 'araña'. (Cf. *armiarma* and *aramau,* and perhaps the Romance form *araña,* in Occitan: *iraño, irañe, araña,* etc.); *ainharba* BN, Z [POUVREAU's dictionary][24].
>
> *amarau(n)* B, AN, L, *amelaun* G, *ameraun* G, *a(r)baraun* B, *aram(a)u* B; *ama(l)ma* G, *amauma* G, *abaiña, aban* Z, *aremu* B, *barasma* G, *armarma* G, AN, L, *armamio* BN, *armamoi* AN[25].

Corominas & Pascual believe[26] that in many of these forms there is a compound of *aran(i)a* and *eun* 'cloth'[27]. This is purely speculative.

> More Basque variants: *armiarma* G, AN, *armiarmo* L, *armamio* BN, *arbiana* BN, *armarma* G, AN, L, *armirimao, armierma, hirmiarmo* L, *ainamorma* AN, *almiarma, irmiarma* B, *armiarmosa* AN, *ar(ma)millo, armario* AN, *maresma, ma(ra)sma, maxma* (POUVREAU's dictionary), etc.[28]

---

24 AGUD, TOVAR 1988: II-632.

25 AGUD, TOVAR 1988: III-848-49.

26 COROMINAS, PASCUAL 1980.

27 AGUD, TOVAR 1988: III-848-49.

28 "Los grupos *lm* y rm ocurren sobre todo en préstamos, pero también en voces expresivas: *malma* 'malva', *trealma* 'enjalma', *(h)arma* 'arma', *armiarma (-mo)* 'araña' ..." (MICHELENA 1990: 855).

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Corominas & Pascual[29] remind us of the type Latin *aranea* ~ Greek ἀράχνπ [sic] that do not have a solid IE etymology, but, on the contrary, seem connected on the one hand with the indigenous Basque type *armarma* ~ *armamio* ~ *aramau*, etc., and on the other with the type *arăna* ~ *anăra* for 'moth, worm, etc.' (which in various places designates minor arachnids), perpetuated in the Pyrenean Romance and in Basque (see what was said about *ar* 'worm'). In these cases, the Mediterranean substrate[30] could be suspected[31]. In BCR Basque *ha[m]aṙ 'worm' (B arc *haar*, R *ãr*) is connected with PNC *ɦabarV 'worm' (BCR B.46, NCED 508), possibly with expressive nasalization in Basque, thus an etymon distinct from our tentatively postulated **am-aṙäKc-*. But Pouvreau's XVII[th] century forms *maresma, ma(ra)sma, maxma* could fit with the latter. See also *barasma* G 'spider', *parasma, parasmau, paasma* B[32]. As to the difference between /ara/ and /aṙa/, the variation between the flapped /r/ and trilled /ṙ/ is rather rare in Basque, but it has occurred, e.g. *garando* B, Sal, R ~ *garhondo* BN ~ *garrondo* AN, B, R, even *galondo* B, AN[33].

Basque forms like *aiña-**barbariña**, aiña-**borma**, **barasma*** (cited above) are reminiscent of some Kartvelian words for 'spider': Georgian ***bab**-a-č̣ua, **borbal**-a*; Megrelian ***bo(r)bolia***; Laz ***bombula*** 'spider' (TOB: Kartvelian etymology). These could reflect borrowing by Kartvelian from North Caucasian (or Euskaro-Caucasian), or, less likely, *vice versa*. Note also *baba, babá*, words for 'mother, mummy' in Andian, Lak, Dargwa, and Lezgian languages.

---

29 COROMINAS, PASCUAL 1980.

30 AGUD, TOVAR 1988: IV-151-52.

31 In the original: "Corominas recuerda el tipo lat. *aranea* ~ gr. ἀράχνπ [sic] que no tienen una sólida etimología ide., sino que, por el contrario, parecen conectados por una parte con el tipo vasco indígena *armarma* ~ *armamio* ~ *aramau*, etc. y por la otra con el tipo *arana* ~*'anara* para 'polilla, gusano, etc.' (que en varios lugares designa arácnidos menores), perpetuado en los romances pirenaicos y en vasco (vid. lo dicho a propósito de *ar* 'gusano'). En estos casos se podría sospechar el sustrato mediterráneo."

32 AGUD, TOVAR 1988: III-848, IX-844; OEH *marasma*.

33 MICHELENA 1990: 331; OEH *garondo*; BCR A.3.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

3. Conclusion

As a conclusion on the word origin of Greek ἀράχνη 'spider', we tend to assign it to the Mediterranean word-stock being rooted in the Pre-Indo-European Euskaro-Caucasian substratum.

The Mediterranean substratum words for 'spider' are not the only European designations for 'spider' with an unexplained etymology. There is e.g. a Saami substratum word *heavdni* 'spider', which stems from an unknown substratum language[34].

Abbreviations: languages and Basque dialects cited[35]

A	Araban: dialect of Araba (Álava) province
Ak.	Akusha (Dargwa dialect)
AN	Alto Navarro = High Navarrese
arc	archaic form
B	Bizkaian = Biscayan
Bezht.	Bezhta (a Tsezian language)
Bzt	Baztanese
BN	Bas-navarrais = Low Navarrese
Chir.	Chiragh (Dargwa dialect)
G	Gipuzkoan
IE	Indo-European
L	Lapurdian = Labourdin
PNC	Proto-North Caucasian (acc. to NCED)
R	Roncalese
Sal	Salazarese
Z	Zuberoan = Souletin

Bibliography

AGUD, TOVAR 1988 Agud, M., Tovar, A., *Materiales para un diccionario etimológico de la lengua vasca,* Published in fascicles in *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca "Julio de Urquijo".*

---

[34] SAMMALLAHTI 2011: 197-216.

[35] Designations such as "BN-Aldude" refer to specific communities within a province.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

AZKUE 1905-1906 Azkue, Resurección María de, *Diccionario vasco-español-francés / Dictionnaire basque-espagnol-français*, Bilbao / Paris.

BCR Bengtson, J. D., *Basque and its Closest Relatives: A New Paradigm*, An Updated Study of the Euskaro–Caucasian (Vasco–Caucasian) Hypothesis. Language in Prehistory 1. 2nd edition, 2021, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press. Available online: Bengtson, John D. 2017. Basque and its Closest Relatives: A New Paradigm. Cambridge, Mass.: Mother Tongue Press & Association for the Study of Language in Prehistory. 1st edition. https://www.academia.edu/35486614/Basque_and_Its_Closest_Relatives_A_New_Paradigm_annotated_December_2017, Mother Tongue Press & Association for the Study of Language in Prehistory, Cambridge.

BEEKES 2010 Beekes, R., *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Brill, Leiden.

BENGTSON, LESCHBER 2019 Bengtson, J. D., Leschber, C., *Notes on Euskaro-Caucasian (Vasconic) Substratum in western Indo-European Languages*, in: *Wékwos vol. 5. Revue d'études Indo-Européennes*, Éditions Errance, Arles, 11–50.

BENGTSON, LESCHBER 2021 Bengtson, J. D., Leschber, C., *Notes on some Pre-Greek words in relation to Euskaro-Caucasian (North Caucasian + Basque)*, in: *Journal of Language Relationship / Voprosy jazykovogo rodstva*, 19, 2, 71–98.

BENGTSON, LESCHBER 2023 Bengtson, J. D., Leschber, C., *A Mediterranean Thesaurus: substratal plant names and landscape terms in Latin and Romance (an experimental approach)*, in: *Latin and Greek in the context of the ancient Mediterranean*, Ed. Carlotta Viti. Narr Verlag, Tübingen.

COOPER 1992 Cooper, J. C., *Symbolic and Mythological Animals*, Aquarian Press, London.

COROMINAS, PASCUAL 1980 Corominas, J., Pascual, J. A., *Diccionario critico etimológico de la lengua castellana e hispánico*, Gredos, Madrid.

COURLANDER 1996 Courlander, H., *A Treasury of African Folklore*, Marlowe and Company, New York.

DE VAAN 2008 De Vaan, M., *Etymological dictionary of Latin and the other Italic languages*, Brill, Leiden/Boston.

ELIADE 1972 Eliade, M., *Shamanism. Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Princeton University Press.

FLEMESTAD *et al.* 2017 Flemestad, P., Harlow, M., Hildebrandt, B., Nosch, M.-L., *Observations on the Terminology of Textile Tools in the Edictum Diocletiani on Maximum Prices*, in: S. Gaspa, C. Michel, M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the*

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD, Zea Books, Lincoln, 256-277.

GRAF 2006 Graf, F., *Arachne*, in: H. Cancik, H. Schneider, C. Salazar, M. Landfester, F. Gentry (eds.), *Brill's New Pauly*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e131080.

GRAVES 1955 Graves, R., *Athene's Nature and Deeds. Greek Myths*, Penguin, London.

GURA 2004 Gura, A. V., *Pauk (spider)* in: N. I. Tolstoj (ed.), *Slavjanskie drevnosti*, vol. 3, Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk, Institut Slavjanovedenija, Moskva.

HAMP 1990 Hamp, E. P., *The pre-Indo-European language of northern (central) Europe*, in: Th. Markey, J., Greppin (eds.), *When Worlds Collide: Indo-Europeans and pre-Indo-Europeans*, Ann Arbor, 291–305.

IVERSEN, KROONEN 2017 Iversen, R., Kroonen, G., *Talking Neolithic: Linguistic and archaeological perspectives on how Indo-European was implemented in Southern Scandinavia*, in: *AJA*, 121, 4, 511–525.

LANDUCCI 1562 Landucci, N., *Dictionarium linguae cantabricae*, M. Agud, L. Michelena (eds.), San Sebastián, 1958.

LEE 1930 Lee, F. H., *Folk Tales of All Nations*, New York.

LESCHBER 2009 Leschber, C., *Rekonstruktion und Substrat*, in: I. Janyšková, H. Karlíková (eds.), *Studia Etymologica Brunensia 6: Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní vědecké konference Etymologické symposion Brno 2008*, Prague, 201–209.

LESCHBER 2020 Leschber, C., *Obscure Prehistorical Accessions to the Slavic Lexicon*, in: M.-I. Greenberg, L.-A. Grenoble, S., Dickey, M.-A. Fidler, R. Genis, M. Łaziński, M. Oslon, A. Peti-Stantić, A. Uhlik, B. Wiemer, N.-V. Zorixina-Nilsson (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Slavic Languages and Linguistics Online*, Brill, Leiden-Boston.

MATASOVIĆ 2020 Matasović, R., *Language of the bird names and the pre-Indo-European substratum*, in: G. Romain (ed.), *Loanwords and Substrata. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 164, Innsbruck, 331-344.

MICHELENA 1990 (1961) Michelena, L. [Koldo Mitxelena], *Fonética histórica vasca*, Diputación Provincial de Guipúzcoa, San Sebastián [2nd edition 1977; reprints 1985, 1990].

NCED Nikolayev, S. L., Starostin, S., A., *A North Caucasian Etymological Dictionary*, Asterisk Press, Moscow.

OEH Michelena, L. [Koldo Mitxelena], *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia / Diccionario General Vasco*, Euskaltzaindia, Bilbao [Edited since

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Michelena's death by Ibon Sarasola] https://www.euskaltzaindia.eus/es/

ORLIN 2016 Orlin, E., *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Ancient Mediterranean Religion*, Routledge, New York - London.

POKORNY 1959 Pokorny, J., *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I. Band, Francke Verlag, Bern - München.

POUVREAU Pouvreau, S., *Basque dictionary*, National Library, Paris (unpublished, XVIIth century manuscript).

SALMONS 2015 Salmons, J., *Language shift and the Indo-Europeanization of Europe,* in: R. Mailhammer, Th. Vennemann, B.-A. Olsen (eds.), *The linguistic roots of Europe: Origin and development of European languages*, Copenhagen, 103–125.

SAMMALLAHTI 2011 Sammallahti, P., *From Africa to the Arctic – Expansions, Bottlenecks and Contacts in the Linguistic Prehistory of Saami*, in: *Language Contact in Times of Globalization*, Brill, 197-216.

SCHRIJVER 1997 Schrijver, P., *Animal, vegetable and mineral: Some Western European substratum words*, in: A. M. Lubotsky (ed.), *Sound law and analogy: Papers in honor of Robert S.P. Beekes on the occasion of his 60th birthday*, Amsterdam, 293–316.

TAYLOR 1994 Taylor, C. F. (ed.), *Native American Myths and Legends*, Smithmark, New York.

TOB *Tower of Babel: International*, Web-based project on historical and comparative linguistics developed by S. A. Starostin & Yu. Bronnikov http://starling.rinet.ru/main.html.

TRASK 1997 Trask, R. L., *The History of Basque*, Routledge, London - New York.

WALTER 1863 Walter, N. N., *Vocaleinschiebung im Griechischen*, in: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 12, 5, 375-381.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The crown as metaphorical representation of royalty in William Shakespeare's histories

IULIA ANDREEA MILICĂ*

Abstract: Authority, power and royalty are important themes approached by Shakespeare mainly in his historical plays and tragedies, reflecting his contemporaries' preoccupations with the rulers' responsibilities and rights as well as the Tudors' efforts to legitimize their right to the throne. In Shakespeare's plays the crown may be hidden, encompassed, seized, delivered, it is immortal, golden, blemished, polished or hollow, all these representations enhancing the various manners in which Shakespeare articulated his age's reflection on monarchy. The paper, therefore, will analyse the important occurrences of the word "crown" in Shakespeare's "King John," and the Second Tetralogy ("Richard II", the two parts of "Henry IV" and "Henry V") in order to delineate the manner in which the doctrine of the "King's Two Bodies", prevalent in Queen Elizabeth's times, is understood and interpreted by the various monarchs depicted by the Bard. The plays also show how the idea of monarchy changes from a medieval, providential institution to a more politically-oriented performance, gradually deprived of the sacred symbolism attached to it.

Keywords: *crown; king; England; history; legitimacy; providential kingship; body politic, body natural.*

"Why doth the crown lie there upon his pillow, / Being so troublesome a bedfellow? / O polish'd perturbation! golden care! / That keep'st the ports of slumber open wide / To many a watchful night!" (Prince Henry, 2 Henry IV, 4.5. 20-25)[1].

---

* Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași: iulia.milica@yahoo.com.

1 All the quotations from William Shakespeare's plays are from *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works,* edited by Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson and David Scott Kastan, Bloomsbury, 2001.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Watching his father sleeping, young Prince Harry, the future Henry V, muses on the blessings and curses of ruling, considering his future role as the king of England. Starting from this quote, we intend, in this paper, to highlight the various interpretations of the "crown," as an object that symbolizes the royal authority, as well as a metaphor of kingship in William Shakespeare's *King John* and the second tetralogy, starting with *Richard II,* continuing with the two parts of *Henry IV* and ending with *Henry V.* The symbolic dual representation of the crown mentioned by the young heir to the throne, Prince Harry, who sees it as "perturbation" and "care" which is, at the same time, "polished" and "golden" points to the dual nature of the medieval kings, as divine messengers of God and human beings submitted to the weaknesses of human nature. The way in which Shakespeare's characters, royals, usurpers, or noblemen, use the word "crown" reveals their attitudes to royal authority and power and often accompanies the degradation of authority, political instability, or, on the contrary, a return to stability or a deeper understanding of what being a king really entails.

Shakespeare's historical plays were part of a larger interest in history during the Early Modern age in England, manifested also in his fellow playwrights' choices of historical topics, but it is unquestionable that his contribution to the genre remains unchallenged. Shakespeare approaches controversial issues connected to the political life of England and especially to the manner of ruling, by depicting depositions, murders, plotting and scheming, betrayals, cowardice, but, at the same time, he also reinforces the need for a strong and responsible monarch, a symbol of a united and stable nation. Thus, even though most of his historical plays reflect various typologies of kings, more negative than positive, he never attacks or criticizes the monarchy as an institution and he constantly reinforces the importance of order, stability and justice. Richard Helgerson highlights Shakespeare's focus on England as a monarchy, irrespective of the negative or debatable aspects of such a form of governance and the often questionable manners of ruling of various kings by stating that "Shakespeare's history plays present, as do none of the others texts we have encountered, a pre-eminently royal image of England"[2]. In his view, "*Shakespeare has stood, as he*

[2] HELGERSON 1992: 244.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

still stands today, for Royal Britain, for a particularly anachronistic state formation based at least symbolically on the monarch and an aristocratic governing class"[3]. Therefore, the debates on legitimacy, power, authority, kingly conduct, or responsibility put forward by Shakespeare's histories as well as by his tragedies and also by some of his comedies and romances do not invalidate the concept of kingship, but reinforce the need of a stable political order and are part of the process of creation of a national identity in the sixteenth century, after the troublesome previous centuries marked by external wars and internal strife. The historical plays also focus on a changing view of monarchy, an age of absolutism that tried to "*conserve a feudal power-structure in centralized form against the gradual emergence of mobile free labor*"[4]. In other words, while the feudal system with its providential kingship was no longer supported by the economic and social environment in Early Modern England, the Tudors, and later the Stuart dynasties, relied on spectacles of power and on a divine explanation of royalty to legitimize and consolidate their political authority. Even though his protagonists are medieval English kings, Shakespeare expresses the uncertainties and dilemmas of his own age and even though the divine authority of the anointed kings and their heritage are often mentioned to legitimize the various kings' claims to the throne of England, it often seems that the more successful kings are those who are better and more suited to the role of ruler. Andrew Hadfield asserts that "*The emphasis throughout the tragedies and histories is placed on the virtue and ability of the individual as qualifications for rule, other than simply inherited right*" and goes on exemplifying his statement:

> "Richard III, Macbeth and Claudius are all deposed because they are not fit to rule, not simply because they are usurpers or have a dubious claim to the throne in question. Other rulers do a better job and are more suited to the demands of high office."[5]

The vision of Kingship promoted by Queen Elizabeth is centred on a divine representation of the monarch, "*ruling as the chosen vice-regent of God,*

[3] HELGERSON 1992: 244.
[4] PYE 1990: 6.
[5] HADFIELD 2004: 11-12.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

independent of the consent of the commons, unfettered by ecclesiastical authority, outside of and prior to the laws of the kingdom – all summed up in the term, 'divine right.'"[6] According to Edmund Plowden, a XVIth century lawyer, practicing during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, royalty has a dual nature, uniting the divinity with the humanity, immortality with mortality: "*this natural Body is conjoined with his Body politic, which contains his royal Estate and Dignity; and the Body politic includes the body natural, but the Body natural is the lesser, and with this the Body politic is consolidated. So that he has a Body natural, adorned and invested with the Estate and Dignity royal; and he has not a Body natural distinct and divided by itself from the Office and Dignity royal, but a Body natural and a Body politic together indivisible; and these two Bodies are incorporated in one Person, and make one Body*".[7] The separation between these two bodies is possible only in Death, namely when the Natural Body dies and the "Soul", or the immortal part, migrates to another body and so "*interesting, however, is the fact that this 'incarnation' of the body politic in a king of flesh not only does away with the human imperfections of the body natural, but coveys 'immortality' to the king as King, that is, with regard to his superbody*."[8] The most important benefit of this theory for a monarch was the protection that he or she received the moment of anointment, namely the moment when the immortal body is transferred to the natural body:

> "one can easily see the advantages to the monarchical position in such a theory, since no personal action of the monarch could be invalidated, and no matter how incompetent or diseased the monarch was, as king he was nevertheless perfect."[9]

Shakespeare represents this doctrine in his plays, by having his kings insist on their divine right to rule, but, at the same time, he often depicts unfit, evil, cruel, incapable kings in a world of disorder. Nevertheless, Shakespeare always implies that behind the apparent disorder, there is an order that has "*its counterpart in heaven*". As E. M. W. Tillyard points out, this

---

[6] CARROL 2003: 127.

[7] KANTOROWICZ 2016: 8.

[8] KANTOROWICZ 2016: 13.

[9] CAROL 2003:128.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

vision does not emerge out of Shakespeare's peculiarly religious nature, but rather because he *"used the thought-idiom of his age"*[10], which connected history and theology. Inherited from the medieval world, the representation of the world as a ladder made up of hierarchical layers, all created by and connected to God, as in a chain, thus entitled The Great Chain of Being, also reinforced the position of the monarch as the representative of God in this chain. Queen Elizabeth and the other Tudors used this representation to legitimize their presence on the throne of England by presenting themselves as the providential saviours of England from the clutches of disorder and chaos, bringing about a Golden Age that was *"nothing apart from the cosmic order of which it was part"*[11]. The sequences of the historical plays, organized in groups of four, with the exception of *King John*, might also reinforce the sense of cosmic order behind the apparent chaotic disorder because,

> "Shakespeare is more interested in the chain of cause and effect than in the ideas that history repeats itself and hence that we may apply to the present the exemplary lessons of the past."[12]

The "crown" therefore, becomes the symbol of the legitimate king, the one blessed by God who takes his part in the ladder of the Great Chain of Being and performs a role in the political system. The fact that the crown is devalued, abused or seized by usurpers is a sign of disorder, an absurd gesture in a world in which ruling by divine right is the prevalent ideology. And yet, human nature competes with divine rules and many, if not most of Shakespeare's political plays, be they tragedies or histories, are concerned with ambitious men who try to take the crown and then find means to legitimize their claim to the throne, but not all of them are equally capable to keep it and perform well in the role that they have so much desired.

The first play we approached is *King John*, written probably around the 1590s and mentioned by Francis Meres' *Palladis Tamia* in 1598, which focuses on the conflict of the King with other contenders to the throne, with the King of France and with the Pope of Rome in a play in which royalty becomes a commodity to be seized by the stronger contender. Relying mostly

---

[10] TILLYARD 1962: 8.

[11] TILLYARD 1962: 17.

[12] TILLYARD 1962: 155.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

on the conflict with Queen Elizabeth's enemies, namely France and Rome, and thus connecting the story of King John to historical realities more familiar to his audiences, Shakespeare does not, however, glorify the king of England, representing John in an equally negative light with that in which in depicts the Pope or the King of France. Although composed around the same period of time, the vision of history in King John and Richard II is different: "*History in Richard II appears to have dignity and purpose, its agents motivated by both self-interest and by lofty principle, history in King John is a matter of chance, expediency, opportunism and accident*."[13] King John, though the son of King Henry II, with a right to occupy the throne of England after the death of his brother, King Richard I, behaves like an usurper, more interested in his own benefits than in the destiny of England. As a result, out of the many important historical events that marked the reign of King John, Shakespeare chooses to focus on the fight for the crown as well as on the incapacity of the crowned king to rule and to protect the country from outside menaces.

John's right to the throne is constantly challenged by others, especially his elder brother's wife who wants the crown for her son and though he claims he has the right to rule "*Our strong possession and our right for us*" (1.1.39) it is clear from Queen Elinor, his mother, it would be better to guard what he has rather than rely too much on rights: "*Your strong possession much more than your right, / Or else it must go wrong with you and me*" (1.1. 40).

The word "crown" is mentioned for the first time when the two kings, John and Phillip, rulers of England and respectively France, meet to discuss whether there will be peace or war between their kingdoms. Phillip challenged John as he supported the ascension to the throne of Arthur, son of Geoffrey, John's elder brother, claiming that, though he killed Richard, he defends his nephew's right to the throne. While John accepts peace only if France admits "*our just and lineal entrance to our own*" (2.1.85), reinforcing his divine right "*Whiles we, God's wrathful agent, do correct/ Their proud contempt that beats His peace to heaven*" (2.1. 87-8), Phillip answers: "*But thou from loving England art so far / That thou hast underwrought his lawful king / Cut off the sequence of posterity / Outfaced infant state, and done a rape / Upon the maiden*

13 SHAUGHNESSY 2011: 146.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

virtue of the crown" (2.1. 94-8). In this fragment, the crown is feminized, and John's fault is that of a rape, a foul act of aggression, demeaning to a knight, as John claims to be. The crown, therefore, becomes a feminine creature, to be defended by the valiant and righteous knights, as Phillip claims to be when he declares "*with burden of our armour here we sweat*" (2.1.91), reinforcing his chivalric demeanour and role, or possessed, raped, appropriated, as he accuses John of doing. Heroic masculinity and chivalric virtues are symbolized by the armour worn by the French king in opposition to John's degradation and unchivalrous behaviour as he performed a rape.

Ironically, though, femininity in this play is constantly offended, rejected and marginalized. Idealized as an abstraction, like Phillip's reference to the crown, the Bastard's reference to Mother England (5.2.154) or Cardinal Pandulph's mention of "*the church, our holy mother*" (3.1.67), the feminine presence is, in reality, seduced, abused and depreciated. Lady Faulconbridge, the mother of king Richard I's bastard son, admits that "*King Richard Coeur-de-lion was thy father: / By long and vehement suit I was seduc'd / To make room for him in my husband's bed.*" (1.1.253-5), while Constance is accused by Queen Elinor of having been unfaithful to her husband: "*Out, insolent! thy bastard shall be king, That thou mayst be a queen, and cheque the world*" (2.1.122.3) to which Constance replies "*My bed was ever to thy son as true. / As thine was to thy husband;*" (2.1.124-5). In the same act and scene in which the encounter between the two kings occurs, the two women continue the fight for the crown but in feminine terms, with accusations of adultery. The women's presence in a play centred on problematic succession is crucial, though their actual role in men's fights is less relevant, because the woman's purity is a testimony of the purity of the blood: "in the making of history, women are traditionally the arbiters of identity and the moral guardians of the blood line."[14] Thus, Eleanor supports the Bastard's claim that he is the son of Richard I on grounds of physical similarities, though this act condemns Lady Faulconbridge as an adulteress, only because it suits her, but rejects Constance's purity, claiming that Arthur is not her grandson, though the similarities with his father seem as obvious as the Bastard's to Richard simply because she supports her other son's claim to the throne. Women's

[14] PIESSE 2002: 132.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

virtue, therefore, becomes a commodity to be traded, seized or devalued in the political game, as it is suited to the various contenders to power. Likewise, the crown, whose "virtue" is spoiled by John's "rape", has to be restored by King Phillip.

Just like the women in the play, the crown is traded and abused. A divine symbol of royalty and legitimacy, just as the women are symbols of virtue, the crown exchanges wearers, often functioning as a mask of royalty. Thus, in front of the gates of Algiers, both kings are refused entrance as the citizens only bow to the king of England. John claims possession of the city as he is the one to wear the crown: "*Doth not the crown of England prove the king? / And if not that, I bring you witnesses, / Twice fifteen thousand hearts of England's breed*." (2.1.273) Deprived of importance and meaning, "raped" and exchanged, the crown is no longer sufficient to support the claims to the throne of the various participants in this game, and John feels the need to back his right with a threat – the thousands of soldiers at the gates of the city should the citizens fail to acknowledge his crown. The citizens, confused by the various claims and the multiple voices pretending to have authority, refuse to bow to any and so, the kings, once enemies, join forces against the dissenting city. The prevalence of self-interest to virtue and righteousness is further enhanced by the potential alliance between the former enemies, King John and King Phillip, reinforced through the marriage between John's niece, Blanche, and Phillip's son, Lewis, an alliance supported by Queen Elinor who keeps repeating to John, since the beginning of the play, that his claim to the throne is feeble: "*Son, list to this conjunction, make this match; / Give with our niece a dowry large enough: / For by this knot thou shalt so surely tie / Thy now unsur'd assurance to the crown, / That yon green boy shall have no sun to ripe / The bloom that promiseth a mighty fruit*." (2.1. 468-473). This alliance would eliminate Arthur from his claim to the crown adding yet another contender, Lewis, who will later on attack England desiring to occupy the throne on account of his marriage to Blanche. The passionate defence of Arthur's claim made by Phillip just at the beginning of this scene is now forgotten when a bigger prize is within range, reinforcing thus the representation of the crown as a commodity, a prized asset to be traded.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The fact that the crown, a symbol of the divine ordinance of God appointing a king as His messenger is, in this play, deprived of its original meaning and importance is further stressed by John's desire to have a second coronation. As Salisbury insists, "*Therefore, to be possess'd with double pomp, / To guard a title that was rich before, / To gild refined gold, to paint the lily, / To throw a perfume on the violet, /To smooth the ice, or add another hue/ Unto the rainbow, or with taper-light / To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish, / Is wasteful and ridiculous excess*" (4.2.9-16), as he continues Pembroke's words "*you were crown'd before, / And that high royalty was ne'er pluck'd off, / The faiths of men ne'er stained with revolt; / Fresh expectation troubled not the land / With any long'd-for change or better state*" (4.2.4-8). The noblemen's words seem to contradict John and Elinor's constant fears that his right is not valid and at least apparently and for the sake of stability, the English lords have accepted John's claim to the throne, even though now they start doubting that he is a suitable king. The words chosen by Salisbury enhance the depiction of the crown as a precious commodity that may lose its value if one seeks to change or embellish it further, acts that tarnish it, thus invalidating John's right to be a king.

Lewis, the Dauphin, in his claim to the crown, also sees it as a commodity, a prize to be easily won: "*Have I not here the best cards for the game, / To win this easy match play'd for a crown?*" (5.3.105-6). While his father mentioned the weight of the armour he needs to bear for a right cause, alluding to chivalric values, prince Lewis mentioned a game of cards, a form of court entertainment that may involve gambling and cheating, but which is deprived of the valiant and lofty aura medieval knighthood implies.

At the beginning of the final act, John gives his crown to Cardinal Pandulph, naming it "*the circle of my glory*" and the Cardinal gives it back to him "*Take again / [giving back the crown]/ From his my hand, as holding of the pope, / Your sovereign greatness and authority*" (5.1.2-4). It is another coronation uniting again old enemies turned allies when common interests are in line and the crown becomes a symbol of this new alliance and an allegiance to Rome rather than a sign of kingly authority and divine right. These repeated coronations invalidate John not because he does not have a solid inherited right to the throne of England, but because he does not know how to be a

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

good king and assume his role. A. J. Piesse sees John as incapable both in his private affairs as well as in public performances: "*John's inability either to act independently or to present appropriate images of either his public or his private self at crucial moments in the play is telling. His reliance on his mother's advice, on his allies, and then on the authority of the Church suggest a king fearful and uncertain of himself in both his private and his public spheres*"[15] and Andrew Hadfield asserts that "King John *emphasizes the need for rulers to act like kings and so transform themselves into monarchs.*"[16] Though this is a play about succession, rights and legitimacy, in the end it becomes clear that the best king is the one who knows how to play the role better.

The play *Richard II* is the first in Shakespeare's Second Tetralogy, continued with the two parts of *Henry IV* and ending with *Henry V*, and was most likely performed in 1595[17], so, apparently, both *King John* and *Richard II* were written in the same period of time. In comparison to John, Richard has a very solid claim to the throne, his authority is strong and stable at the beginning of the play, the court ceremony and the trial scene that open the play suggest that Richard's rule is (yet) unchallenged. Nevertheless, this play becomes a discussion about the right to depose an unfit king as well as about the real and symbolic consequences of such an act. In other words, even though Richard II is the only king in Shakespeare's histories with a legitimate right to the throne, the debate over the king's authority, responsibility and rights is still important, implying that right alone is not sufficient for an effective monarchy. This particular play, often considered a tragedy, very similar with *King Lear* in its discussion of the dual nature of kings and of the king's two bodies, deals with both the political and the psychological effects of a king's deposition from power. Therefore, by outlining the uses of the word "crown" in *Richard II*, we can follow Richard's journey from kingship to death.

By considering this theory of the King's two bodies, *Richard II* becomes an analysis of the effects of the fragmentation of this unity while the monarch is still alive. Following Richard's psychological decay after the

---

[15] PIESSE 2002: 134-5.
[16] HADFIELD 2004: 72.
[17] SHAUGHNESSY 2011: 145.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

loss of his kingly self, the play investigates the results of such an act on an individual who firmly believes that his authority has divine support. Moreover, at a political level, such an act of deposition of an anointed king forebodes a terrible fate for England and at the end of this play and during the subsequent plays of this tetralogy it is constantly implied that the roots of the bloody War of the Roses lie in this blasphemous act.

The world of King Richard is loftier, more formal and more serious than the political bargains and petty negotiations of *King John*, but the crown remains a prized and desired object to be honoured or seized. The first mention of the crown occurs in the first act of the play in which the king is also a judge in a conflict between two noblemen: Bolingbroke, his cousin, who will later depose Richard and Mobray. Thus, Mobray greets the king with "*Each day still better other's happiness / Until the heavens, envying earth's good hap, / Add an immortal title to your crown!*" (1.1.22-4). In a very formal court scene, the "immortal crown" is seen as a symbol of the ruler's divine, immortal, political body, reinforcing his stable position in the political system and the acknowledgement of his title by all his subjects. However, this sense of providential safety and stability is only a façade, a spectacle just like the pomp of the first court ceremony, since Richard slowly decays into careless rule, which will lead to his deposition by his cousin.

The second mention of the "crown" belongs to John of Gaunt, Richard's uncle and Henry Bolingbroke's father. Assuming the role of a parent, since Richard lost his and became a king while still a child, John of Gaunt seeks to give "*wholesome council to his [Richard's] unstaid youth*" (2.1. 67). Comparing Richard's behaviour to an illness, the old nobleman warns the king of impending (symbolic) death "*Oh, no, thou diest though I the sicker be*" (2.1.91) because he tainted his kingly reputation by associating himself with ill-meaning flatterers: "*Commit'st thy anointed body to the cure / Of those physicians that first wounded thee: / A thousand flatterers sit within thy crown, / Whose compass is no bigger than thy head; / And yet, incaged in so small a verge, / The waste is no whit lesser than thy land.*" (2.1. 98-103). In Gaunt's words, the anointed body, or the "body politic" has become sick, contaminated by the king's (the body natural's) unruly and wasteful behaviour. The old uncle thus reminds Richard of his responsibilities that come with the crown, as it

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

seems that the young king was aware only of the privileges. The crown becomes at once capacious, containing "a thousand flatterers" and small, like a cage, that limits the king's freedom, thus acquiring almost magical features. Therefore, Gaunt's accusation is that the king abuses his own divine nature by allowing other people, the flatterers, to occupy the crown, thus "*farming out his 'royalties,' his prerogatives and responsibilities. […] By subverting the essential nature of the King's body politic, he debases it and commits waste upon it*."[18] The crown, therefore, is the symbol of the "body politic", which the King destroys and deprives of meaning by allowing others to have access to royal attributes. References to waste are further multiplied as England becomes a "pelting farm" (2.1.60), or with the gardeners' references to the unruly apricots, the weeds and the caterpillars (3.4).

Therefore, according to Gaunt, to his son, lord Bolingbroke, and to their supporters, the king's actions have tainted the crown that becomes "blemish'd" and must be "*redeemed from broking pawn*" (Northumberland. 2.1. 293). The reference to usury demeans Richard's character to a loathsome one, separating him from the majesty of divine kingship as he becomes a tenant who wasted his possession. Thus, following Kantorowicz's analysis of *Richard II* as the tragedy of the king's two bodies, Dennis R. Klinke sees the separation between the body politic and the body natural in terms of property: "*Richard in his natural body is a kind of 'tenant'; what he holds is the Kingship, which entails being lord of the land, literally, but also occupying the 'Dignity royal.' The 'waste' he commits can be seen to affect not only the land as a physical inheritance, but also the substance of the kingship itself*."[19] The crown, in Northumberland's words, becomes one of the assets that the king wasted, or blemished, and Richard also allowed the dust to "hide our sceptre's gilt" (Northumberland, 2.1.94). The mention of the two kingly paraphernalia that Richard seems to have ruined or neglected, coupled with the use of the possessive "our", suggesting the fact that it is not the King's sceptre, as a private possession, but a national value, mark the separation between Richard's divine nature (the crown, the sceptre) and his human nature (him being a simple tenant, a waster).

---

[18] KLINCK 1998: 29.
[19] KLINCK 1998: 25.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Richard tries to bring unity to his kingdom and mostly to his self, by restoring the crown to its majestic vision: "*For every man that Bolingbroke hath press'd / To lift shrewd steel against our golden crown, / God for his Richard hath in heavenly pay / A glorious angel: then, if angels fight, / Weak men must fall, for heaven still guards the right.*" (3.2.58-63) Once more, it becomes obvious that the crown is connected to the king's divine nature and Richard, born to royalty, believes in God's support for his cause. Richard's reference to the crown as "golden" is an attempt to restore its value and symbolic authority after having been seen by the others as "blemished". In this way, Richard tries to defend himself and his position from the accusations of the lords by appealing to the divine nature of monarchy. The golden crown is the immortal crown of the divine king, while the blemished crown is that of a "waster".

Nevertheless, the illusion of God's protection is shattered and Richard faces the dissolution of his self and his own mortality. The "golden crown" becomes a "hollow crown", as Richard no longer believes in the divine protection and sees the crown not as a sacred, kingly object, but rather as a prop to be used in a theatrical performance for as long as an actor is allowed to play the part of the king.

> "For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground
> And tell sad stories of the death of kings;
> How some have been deposed; some slain in war,
> Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed;
> Some poison'd by their wives: some sleeping kill'd;
> All murder'd: for within the hollow crown
> That rounds the mortal temples of a king
> Keeps Death his court and there the antic sits,
> Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp,
> Allowing him a breath, a little scene,
> To monarchize, be fear'd and kill with looks,
> Infusing him with self and vain conceit,
> As if this flesh which walls about our life,
> Were brass impregnable, and humour'd thus
> Comes at the last and with a little pin
> Bores through his castle wall, and farewell king!" (3.2. 155-170)

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Richard realizes for the first time that he is a human being submitted to the needs, weaknesses and pains of all the mortals. Ernst Kantorowicz asserts that "*not only does the king's manhood prevail over the godhead of the crown, and mortality over immortality; but worse than that, kingship itself seems to have changed its essence. Instead of being unaffected 'by Nonage or Old Age and other natural Defects and Imbecilities,' Kingship itself comes to mean Death and nothing but Death. And the long procession of tortured kings passing in review before Richard's eyes is proof of that change*."[20] At a larger scale, Shakespeare makes a more general comment on royalty, as the way in which Richard envisages the kings to die is in keeping with the various situations reflected in Shakespeare's histories and tragedies, almost as if suggesting that the fate of kings is far from the bliss and sanctity of the doctrines and closer to suffering, betrayal and death.

The "hollow crown" speech is considered to be one of the most impressive in the play and reveals that "*the brittle confidence, arrogant self-possession, and careless indifference – dominant elements in the façade of earlier Richard – have melted to disclose a richer and more vulnerable complex personality. The much quoted 'hollow crown' speech reveals that the speaker's untested faith in the divine protection has been shattered as completely as the mirror he will later break*."[21] The crown is now hollow, without value as Richard discovers, just like King Lear, that the crown is almost like the fool's cap, part of the costume of an actor who is temporarily allowed to "monarchize", that is, to play the part of the king. The mention of the Death's court is a reference to the "Dance of Death", a representation of the medieval "memento mori" tradition famously illustrated by Hans Holbein the Younger in his widely circulated series of woodcuts, Imagines Mortis (1538), in which Death "*the leveller [...] is depicted as unexpectedly summoning persons of all ranks and classes but especially the great (kings, emperors, bishops, cardinals, nobles), thus provoking a frisson of heightened metaphysical consciousness and erasing all earthly distinctions* sub specie aeternitatis. *This is the macabre vision, engendered by a sudden reverse in his fortunes, that triggers Richard's doubts about the fancied efficacy of his inherited*

---

[20] KANTOROWICZ 2016: 30.
[21] FORKER 2001: 7.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

status and the supposed guarantee of his divine-right powers"[22]. Ruling for Richard at this point is just performing a tragic role in a line of other tragic roles, as if the fate of the king is not to enjoy the advantage of monarchy, but to assume his part in a chain of tragic destinies. There is also a bitterness to this soliloquy, beside the recognition of his mortality and weakness, as Richard also seems to believe that he was tricked by Death with its hollow crown and he was allowed to "monarchize" for the amusement of Death who "grins" at his playing and then comes with a little pin to deflate this conceit of authority. Born and raised into royalty, son of the first-born prince and grandson of a king, taking the crown as a child upon the untimely death of his father, Richard has always been convinced of his sacred nature and providential role as God's elect and protégé, and now he is forced to acknowledge the lack of divine support and power, feeling almost like an usurper who had taken Deaths' crown. In a sense, he feels that he was fooled when was told that he was sacred[23].

This soliloquy is a solitary reflection on his own mortality and weakness, a recognition of his limitations and a bitter meditation on what royalty really means, behind the pompous and ceremonious façade. However, giving up the crown "officially" is another matter and Richards puts on a show, like a great actor, humiliating Bolingbroke while he gives him the crown.

> "Give me the crown. Here, cousin, seize the crown;
> Here cousin:
> On this side my hand, and on that side yours.
> Now is this golden crown like a deep well
> That owes two buckets, filling one another,
> The emptier ever dancing in the air,
> The other down, unseen and full of water:
> That bucket down and full of tears am I,
> Drinking my griefs, whilst you mount up on high." (4. 1. 181-189)

In the public space, the crown becomes once more "golden", a symbol of the king's divine power, coveted by Bolingbroke but still held by

---

[22] FORKER 2001: 7-8.
[23] BELL 2011: 101.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Richard. By using the word "seize", Richard alludes back to Gaunt who had accused him of being a usurper and a waster and, in his turn, he accuses Bolingbroke of trying to steal the crown. Richard holds the crown, forces Henry to hold it as well, but does not release it and so, being held thus, the crown becomes "a *possession* to be struggled for, and *object* that can be stolen or 'seized'". By drawing Henry into this ritual he just made up, Richard forces his cousin *"to enact the moral and political reality underlying the sham formality of 'resignation'"*[24]. In front of the entire court, Richard humiliates and exposes Henry as a usurper, unworthy of a precious possession that he had taken by force and not by right. Impatient and embarrassed, Henry asks "*I thought you had been willing to resign*" (4.1.190) to which Richard replies "*My crown I am, but still my griefs are mine*" (4.1.191), suggesting that he tries to separate the body politic (the golden crown) which has now become a possession to be seized, taken, exchanged, from the body natural (the "griefs") from which he can never be separated. The rest of the exchange of replies between the impatient Bolingbroke and Richard who ironically seems to enjoy his cousin's embarrassment underlines the impossibility of dividing the king's two bodies, because the result is not the king reverting to the condition of a simple mortal but nothingness: "*for I must nothing be*" (4.1.201). The loss of kingly identity, for Richard, as it will later appear to be for King Lear, is an existence outside the social system, for the social "ladder", as it was envisaged in those time, does not provide a space for a person who used to be a "divine" being, but returned to mortality, losing or renouncing his divine self.

Anointed as God's deputy, Richard has a final gesture of authority as he "undoes" himself: "*With mine own tears I wash away my balm, / With mine own hands I give away my crown, / With mine own tongue deny my sacred state, / With mine own breath release all duty's rites*" (4.1.207-10). The repetition of the possessive "my" reinforces Richard's gradual separation from the objects that symbolized his royal status and from his royal identity: "*God save King Henry, unking'd Richard says*" (4.1.220). Richard first relinquished all kingly paraphernalia, sceptre, crown, balm and then denied the sanctity of his position, transferring it to Bolingbroke, together with the sacred objects. The

[24] SCHULER 2004: 155-156.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

crown, again, seems to regain its value and it is placed among the sacred objects that are part of the king's majesty. Nevertheless, the ambiguity of this scene taints the sanctity of royalty. A reversed, mock ceremony, this twisted "de-coronation" and "re-coronation" invalidates Bolingbroke's claim and right to the throne, transforming royalty into a stage performance, a play that only mimics reality:

> "Yielding the crown to Bolingbroke, he deliberately plays the fool as an act of self-abasement; yet the scene is also a spectacle of self-exaltation, flamboyantly upstaging Bolingbroke. Though Richard's foolish "cap'ring" disgusts Bolingbroke, he himself proves a poor player whose own turn as King Henry IV remains an unconvincing illusion. A usurper defied as a pretender, Henry overplays the role of monarch and never fully establishes his royal "state'" [25].

The play ends with Richard's murder in Pomfret castle by Henry's supporters. Though he did not order the murder himself, Henry both enjoys and dreads this act. Irrespective of the way in which he rose to the throne, regicide is still felt as a sin, not only a murder, and even if Henry is content that Richard is no longer alive to haunt his kingly days, he fears the consequences of this act. Indeed, Richard will haunt Henry's and his son's reigns, looming as a dark shadow, as a sin for which they feel they must pay and which will constantly invalidate their trust in their sacred role as kings.

The first part of *Henry IV*, written in 1596-7 and the second in the following year[26], are marked by internal strife and succession misapprehensions. Henry's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which he promised to undertake to ask for forgiveness for the sin of deposing and killing an anointed king, was delayed by royal duties. More pressing is the rebellion of his former allies, especially Northumberland and his son, Henry Percy (Hotspur). In addition to this, the king is also concerned about his own son's ability to take over the kingly role, as he seems unreliable, uninterested in his official duties, gravitating around Falstaff and his joyful companions.

The play is constructed on double reflections: prince Henry has two father-figures, Falstaff and the King, each one representing a facet of what

[25] BELL 2011: 33.
[26] SHAUGHNESSY 2011: 152.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

he might become – the carefree man, indulging in the pleasures of the body, or the responsible one, assuming the hard life of a ruler, the tavern and the court being the two spaces between which he oscillates and he will eventually need to choose one. Likewise, King Henry is confronted with a double image of what he would expect from a son: Prince Henry / Hal, with whom he is disappointed, and Henry Percy, his rival's son, whom he considers worthier: "*In envy that my Lord Northumberland / Should be a father to so blessed a son*" (1.1.78-9). The problem with such double representations is that they often appear undistinguishable. According to James C. Bulman, these dramatic oppositions "*tavern versus court, mock king versus legitimate king, wayward prince versus chivalric warrior –which frequently are more apparent than real and, in the end, collapse into similitude*" and underline the fact that "*kingship depends for its authority not on God, but on performance*"[27]. Therefore, *Henry IV* is often seen as a play concerned about the creation of a centralized monarchy separated from the chivalric world of the medieval feudal system that allowed for the creation of charismatic figures such as Hotspur's, but weakened the centralized authority of the king. Hotspur is a symbol of the feudal chivalry, but, no matter how appealing he might be as a character, politically speaking, he is dangerous to the king's authority. On Shakespeare's stage, Hotspur represents both the age's attraction with feudal representations and the danger that such charismatic noblemen might represent: "*Nostalgia for chivalric ideals led paradoxically to a cult of medievalism in Elizabeth's court, though the chivalry practised there was more political and symbolic than real: tournaments and pageants appropriated only the forms of a bygone culture, not its ethos.*"[28] Henry would have liked to have a son like Hotspur at the beginning of the play, but Hotspur's rebellious and untamed nature prove to be inferior to Prince Henry's steady growth into royalty by accepting the role he will need to take as head of the state and complying with the rules the role entails. The chivalric culture and the medieval feudal system must remain a representation of the past, glorified in pageants and performances, but relegated from the political world where a centralized, authoritative power must deal effectively and shrewdly (in a Machiavellian

[27] BULMAN 2002: 162.
[28] BULMAN 2002: 159.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

way, to refer to the time's political frame of mind) with political matters. "*The concentration on Henry's manipulation of power, the aristocratic intrigues of his regime, and Hal's growth into kingship (whether regarded as a positive growth into authority or more as Machiavellian ploy),*" argues James Knowles "*raises acutely the issues of royal prerogative and power seen in Richard's reign and, rather than simply concerning itself with the legitimization,* The History of Henry the Fourth *provides a troubling critique of precisely the ancient feudal rights and chivalric culture that were seen as the basis of aristocratic republicanism.*"[29]

In keeping with the dualities of the play, the crown is also present in a dual manner: the mock crown in Falstaff's tavern and the real, regal crown. Prince Hal is present in both situations as he is confronted with a choice regarding his future and with a process of initiation through which he is supposed to learn what royalty means.

In the tavern scene, "*alternative to the court – a place of festivity and holiday release*", presided by Falstaff "*the most seductive character Shakespeare ever drew*"[30], Hal asks Flastaff to play the role of his father "*and examine me upon the particulars of my life*" (2.1.371). Happy to join this game, Falstaff replies: "*Shall I? content: this chair shall be my state, / this dagger my sceptre, and this cushion my crown.*" (2.1. 373-5) Similar to a fool's cap, the crown does not even resemble the royal symbol, all the regal paraphernalia being props in a show, simple objects in a mock representation of majesty. Prince Henry reinforces the artificiality by referring to each of the objects mentioned by Falstaff and underlying their disjunction from the real regal symbols: "*Thy state is taken for a joined-stool, thy golden / sceptre for a leaden dagger, and thy precious rich / crown for a pitiful bald crown!*" (.2.1. 376-8). Thus, the throne is replaced with a "joined stool", the gold with lead and the precious crown with a "pitiful bald crown"[31] as Prince Henry highlights the fact that this is just a mockery and starts separating himself from this world of the taverns. Hal "deposes" Falstaff, asking to play the part of the king, ironically pointing to his father's deposition of Richard, and starts accusing Falstaff: "*That*

---

[29] KNOWLES 2003: 415.

[30] BULMAN 2002: 160.

[31] Prince Henry's reference reminds of the Fools words to King Lear: "*Thou hadst little wit in thy bald crown*" (1.4.155), relating the political body, represented by the crown with the frailty of the natural body, represented by the bald head and the lack of wits.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

villainous abominable misleader of youth. / Falstaff, that old white-bearded Satan" (2.1.456-7), banishing Falstaff with a foreshadowing "I do! I will" (2.1. 475) an act he will actually perform at the end of the plays, when, as a king, he will make the real and lawful gesture to banish Falstaff from court. According to James C. Bulman, "*In this tavern scene, Shakespeare goes even further to expose the workings of royal self-fashioning and to suggest that kingship, once regarded as sacramental, now amounts to no more than good acting.*"[32] Henry's involvement in (he accepts to participate in Falstaff's game) and detachment from (he knows it is a game and his words have a double meaning, as he replies to Falstaff and comments on what is going on) the scene suggest that the young prince starts learning how to perform as heir and future king. The first part ends with a discussion between King Henry and his son marking the prince's return to his royal duties.

The second part of *Henry IV* further marks Prince Henry's evolution into royalty, the crown recuperating its serious meanings. King Henry admits that "*uneasy lies the head that wears the crown*" (3.1.31) as he muses on the responsibility of ruling, Prince Hal also ponders on the cares that he must accept in receiving the crown. This is the second scene in which the prince is confronted both with the image of the crown and with that of a father, only that, this time, it is a real crown worn by the King, his father. Looking at his father sleeping with the crown on the pillow, Henry meditates on this "troublesome bedfellow", "like a rich armour worn in the heat of day/ That scald'st with safety" (4.5.29-30). The comparison between crown and amour points both to a chivalric representation (allusion to be found both in *King John* and *Richard II*) and to the safety provided by the armour and by the crown, in its conjunction with the king's sacred "political body". At the same time, though, Henry, like his father, acknowledges, even before wearing the crown, the responsibility that comes with ruling. This is exactly what will eventually make him a better king than all those other monarchs represented by Shakespeare in his histories. The "imperial crown" (4.5.40) is Henry's rightful inheritance as the king's son, but he will also inherit the cares that deprive a king of his sleep, and he is fully aware of those too.

32 BULMAN 2002: 164.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

This scene is however ambiguous because Henry takes the crown from the pillow to another room. When he wakes, the king suspects Henry of trying to "steal" the crown "*How quickly nature falls into revolt/ When gold becomes its object*" (4.5. 65-6) and accuses him: "*Dost thou so hunger for my empty chair*" (4.5.94). The crown, therefore, becomes again a precious object to be coveted, stolen, and appropriated. Having himself usurped the throne, King Henry becomes suspicious and lashes into a long tirade against his son. The prince asks for pardon, again referring to the crown not simply as a gold object to be taken, but as a counterpart of God's "immortal crown" reinforcing the symbolic and sacred union between the crown and the king's body politic: "*There is your crown; / And He that wears the crown immortally. Long guard it yours*" (4.5.141-2). His words resonate with the beginning of *Richard II* when the King was addressed in such formal manner and the crown was a sacred symbol of his then authority and holiness. By using these words, the Prince conveys to his father that he deeply understood the importance and the symbolic meaning of the kingly crown. His justification for taking the crown is accepted by the king who, on the verge of death, thinks upon his sin of usurpation "*God knows, my son, / By what by-paths and indirect crook'd ways / I met this crown*" (4.5. 183-5) and "*For all my reign as been but as a scene*" (4.5.197) is a way of acknowledging the role of king rather as a performance than as a holy duty and ends with "*How I came by the crown, O God forgive*" (4.5. 218). This oscillation between seeing kingship as a performance but, at the same time, fearing God's punishment for deposing an anointed king, thus also believing in the King's sacred position signals the change in kingship as an institution. The doctrine of providential kingship may provide some form of protection for the person who assumes the role of the king, as Prince Henry's comparison of the crown to an armour suggests, but it is not sufficient, the king being required to perform well in his role to maintain it.

Henry V is the continuation of *Henry IV* plays, with Prince Henry becoming King Henry V of England who now sets his eyes on France and claims the French throne. Written in 1599[33], the play depicts probably the only king in the gallery of protagonists in Shakespeare's histories who knows

[33] SHAUGHNESSY 2011: 175.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

how to play the part well. It does not necessarily imply that Henry is a perfect king and the mixed reception of the protagonist enhances the ambiguity of the play, replete with violence. On the other hand, though, the references to the crown in the play suggest that royalty has been further transformed into a public performance and Henry knows how to manipulate the political stage by performing well. This performative aspect is enhanced by the fact that this is also the only one in the sequence of histories with a special format, Shakespeare introducing a Chorus at the beginning of each act to summarize and comment on the events:

> "In no other play does Shakespeare invest so much in a structure that powerfully serves to engage his audience in intellectual consideration of the experience in which they are involved. The regular interruptions deny organic development to the drama and require an audience to step back from emotional involvement to gain a perspective upon character and event. The experience of Henry V in performance is a process in which its audience is invited, even urged, to think, judge, and assess."[34]

At the beginning of the second act, the Chorus announces the preparation to invade France and "*For now sits Expectation in the air, / And hides a sword from hilts unto the point / With crowns imperial, crowns and coronets*" (2. Chorus. 8-10). The multiple references to different types of crowns suggests the various visions upon this multi-faceted object: the kingly crown, the sacred symbol of the king, awaiting Henry if he wins this war and subsequently the crown of France, nobiliary titles/ coronets for his lords and money for the rest. The ambiguity between the crown as money as well as symbol of royalty is enhanced here underlying the representation of royalty as performance. Later, in the same act, the crown becomes again an object of bargain and negotiation, just like in *Richard II*, as the King of France is urged not to "hide" (2.4. 97) the crown but to "deliver" it (2.4.103) under the threat of war on his subjects. The words that refer to the object in fact imply a transfer of "body politic", an act which is symbolic and should not occur like a transaction, but within a religious ritual.

The perspective of war, however, prompts Henry, just as it did his father before him, to think back to Richard and to the sin of usurpation, a sin

---

[34] MASON 2002: 180.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

he is about to commit himself in claiming the crown of France, even though he does not admit it , hiding behind weak justifications: "*I know/ 'Tis not the balm, the sceptre and the ball, / The sword, the mace, the crown imperial, / The intertissued robe of gold and pearl, / The farced title running 'fore the king, / The throne he sits on, nor the tide of pomp / That beats upon the high shore of this world*" (4.1. 255 – 261). This solitary meditation shows that Henry believes in his human nature and does not feel protected by God: in private, Henry sees ceremonial, sacred kingship as "pretence and delusion" [35] and yet, he fears God's punishment: "*Not to-day, O Lord, / O, not to-day, think not upon the fault / My father made in compassing the crown*!" (4.1. 289-90), enumerating all he did to re-enter Richard's body and pay money to the church. Nevertheless, all these musings before the battle occur in solitude, because, even though Henry does not foolishly rely, like Richard, on God's protection neither does he deny the family's guilt in usurping the crown. In front of the others, however, he hides his apprehension and poses, in an inspiring speech before the battle, as a strong king. His speech before the battle is inclusive as he positions himself within the group of soldiers and not detached from them believing only in the support of God and His angels, as Richard II did, or too afraid to join the battle, as King John did, or using decoys and doubles, like his father: "*We few, we happy few, we band of brothers; / For he to-day that sheds his blood with me / Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile, / This day shall gentle his condition*" (4.3. 60-63). His claim to the throne is not solid, neither is his trust in his success, which is exemplified by the previous soliloquy, but he plays well his part, much in the manner in which the Bastard of *King John* urged his king to do. This episode is also important because it counterbalances the isolation of other kings, like Richard II, King John, and even Richard III, or Macbeth, who do not rely on others, start distrusting everyone around them and fail in their role as kings. Therefore, "*Shakespeare's representation of kings in all his history plays is governed by the understanding that it is what kings do rather than what they are or claim to be that is important*."[36]

There is, however, a problem with the ending of the play, as the Chorus reminds us that what was gained by Henry will be soon lost. The

---

35 BELL 2011: 48.

36 HADFIELD 2004: 56.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Chorus' Epilogue in *Henry V* announces the short-lived victory of Henry who dies too young and leaves his baby son as a king "*Whose state so many had the managing / That they lost France and made his England bleed*." (Epilogue. Chorus. 11-12). The transience of man's life and the transience of power are thus enhanced even in this rare historical play with a happy ending.

The references to crown and to royalty are numerous and complex in Shakespeare's plays. The specific plays that we have chosen for study reflect Shakespeare and his contemporaries' preoccupations with power and politics and they also underline the evolution of the concept of monarchy from the Middle Ages, when the role was tightly linked with the feudal system and the chivalric values, towards the Renaissance, when the political games and monarchic spectacle become more important in validating the authority of the kings.

Bibliography

BELL 2011	Bell, R. H., *Shakespeare's Great Stage of Fools,* Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
BULMAN 2002	Bulman, J. C., "*Henry IV, parts 1 and 2"* in: M. Hattaway (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 158-176.
CARROLL 2003	Carroll, W. C., *Theories of Kingship in Shakespeare's England,* in: R. Dutton, J. Howard (eds.), *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works. Volume II-The Histories,* Blackwell Publishing, 125-145.
FORKER 2001	Forker, C. L., "*Unstable Identity in Shakespeare's Richard II*", in: *Renascence,* 54. 1., 3-22, ProQuest Central, https://www.proquest.com/central/docview/194936512/B94199D7E2E4D2FPQ/4?accountid=136549, (03.08.2021).
HADFIELD 2004	Hadfield, A., *Shakespeare and Renaissance Politics.* Thomson Learning, London.
HELGERSON 1992	Helgerson, R., *Forms of Nationhood. The Elizabethan Writing of England*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
KANTOROWICZ 2016	Kantorowicz, E. H, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

KLINCK 1998 Klinck D. R., *Shakespeare's Richard II as Landlord and Wasting Tenant*, in: *College Literature, Law, Literature and Interdisciplinarity*, 25, 1, JSTOR, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25112350, (20.04.2022).

KNOWLES 2003 Knowles, J., *1 Henry IV*, in: R. Dutton, J. Howard (eds.), *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works. Volume II-The Histories,* Blackwell Publishing, 412-431.

MASON 2002 Mason, P., *Henry V: 'the quick forge and working house of thought*', in: M. Hattaway (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 177-192.

PIESSE 2002 Piesse, A. J., *King John*: *changing perspectives*, in: M. Hattaway (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Histories*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK., 126-140.

PYE 1990 Pye, C., *The Regal Phantasm. Shakespeare and the Politics of Spectacle.* Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, New York.

SCHULER 2004 Schuler, R. M., *Magic Mirrors in Richard II*, in: *Comparative Drama,* 38, 2/3, 151-181, JSTOR, https://www.jstor.org/stable/41154227, (06.02.2021)

SHAKESPEARE 2001 Shakespeare W., *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works,* R. Proudfoot, A. Thompson, D. Scott Kastan (eds.), Bloomsbury.

SHAUGHNESSY 2011 Shaughnessy, R., *The Routledge Guide to William Shakespeare,* Routledge, Taylor &Francis, New York and London.

TILLYARD 1962 Tillyard, E. M. W., *Shakespeare's History Plays,* Penguin Books.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Adrian Poruciuc – Ein cäsarischer Name

ADINA LUCIA NISTOR*

Abstract: The present study aims at analyzing the first name Adrian and the surname Poruciuc, from an etymological, lexical, grammatical, and orthographic point of view, while also exploring their origin and frequency. Thus, the first name Adrian originates from the cognomen of the emperor Publius Aelius Hadrianus (76 - 138), but the spread of the name is due to the appearance of Christian names. The occupational surname Poruciuc is based on the Russian appellation porucik (meaning officer, lieutenant), but in Romanian it has taken the form of a derivative with the Ukrainian suffix -ciuc (compare also with the suffix -iuc), in analogy with other Romanian names of Slavic origin from the north-east of the country, but also from the territories with Romanian population at the northern and eastern border of Romania. Since the name Poruciuc is not frequently encountered in Romania and Germany, we have created a map of the geographical spread of the Romanian onymic suffixes -ciuc and -iuc in Germany, for comparative purposes.

Keywords: *onomastics; anthroponymy; first name; occupational surname; name formed by derivation; onymic suffix of Ukrainian origin -(c)iuc; onomastic geography (geonomastics).*

1. Einleitung und Zielsetzung

Eigennamen sind für Menschen wie ein „vollkommen passendes Kleid"[1] und dienen dazu, sie in ihrer Einmaligkeit unverwechselbar zu identifizieren und zu individualisieren[2].

---

* Philologische Fakultät der „Alexandru Ioan Cuza" – Universität Iași / Jassy; lnistor@uaic.ro.

1 GOETHE, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, 2. Teil, 10. Buch, zitiert nach NÜBLING, FAHLBUSCH, HEUSER 2012: 12.

2 KUNZE 1999: 11.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Namen nehmen hinsichtlich ihres fehlenden Eintrages in Wörterbüchern, ihrer eigenen Orthographie und Grammatik, ihres Fehlens an lexikalischer Bedeutung, jedoch der Existenz an Konnotationen (mit dem Namen verbundene Assoziationen), sodann ihrem Wert als sprachliche Universalien, eine Sonderstellung in der Linguistik ein[3].

Das Ziel vorliegender Arbeit ist, die Namenmotivation (Etymologie, Bildungsweise, Herkunft, Grammatik, Orthographie, Frequenz) des Vornamens *Adrian* und des Familiennamens *Poruciuc*, die den Namen des Jubilars bilden, näher zu untersuchen und zu beschreiben und anschließend den Familiennamen *Poruciuc* im Zusammenhang mit den onymischen Suffixen *-iuc* und *-ciuc* und deren geografische Verbreitung in Deutschland zu stellen.

2. Der Rufname Adrian

Der männliche Rufname *Adrian* ist lateinischen Ursprungs und geht auf den Namen des 14. römischen Kaisers *Publius Aelius Hadrianus* (24. Januar 76 – 10. Juli 138) zurück, wobei die Tria nomina im lateinischen Namensystem aus dem Praenomen (Vornamen) *Publius* (aus lat. *populus*, bedeutet Volk) besteht, dem Nomen gentile *Aelius* (aus der einflussreichen Familie der Aelii stammend) und dem Cognomen (Beinamen) *Hadrianus*, ein Herkunftsname, der auf den Herkunftsort der Eltern des Namenträgers verweist, nämlich auf die Stadt *Hadria* oder *Hatria*, heute *Atri*, in Mittelitalien, in der Provinz Teramo, in der Region Abruzzen gelegen, ca. 10 km vom Adriatischen Meer entfernt[4]. Demzufolge bedeutet *Hadrianus, Hadrian, Adrian* „der aus der Stadt (H)adria Stammende”. Dabei ist dieses Toponym nicht mit jener Adria, südlich von Venedig, zu verwechseln. Unter dem Kaiser Hadrian erhielt die Stadt Atri, den Namen *Colonia Aelia Hadria*.

Imperator *Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus* stammte, wie sein Großonkel und kaiserlicher Vorgänger Trajan, aus einem römischen Geschlecht, das sich in Hispanien angesiedelt hatte. Die Einheit des

---

3 NÜBLING, FAHLBUSCH, HEUSER 2012: 12-14.

4 KOHLHEIM; KOHLHEIM 1998: 42; BURKART 1998: 26; PETRACHE 1998: 16; BĂLAN-MIHAILOVICI 2003: 15.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Römischen Reiches festigte Hadrian durch Förderung der städtischen Selbstverwaltung und des Wohlstandes, durch Stärkung der Infrastruktur, Verzicht auf Eroberung und Effizienz in der Reichsverteidigung, durch Systematisierung der Rechtsprechung. Zu seiner Zeit erhielten z.B. Frauen das Recht, ihr Vermögen und ihre Erbschaften selbst zu verwalten und Mädchen durften nicht ohne ausdrückliche Einwilligung heiraten. Hadrian beteiligte sich als Befehlshaber, an Trajans Dakerkriegen (101 und 105). Während seiner Amtszeit führte er nur wenige Kriege, nämlich jenen gegen die Autonomiebestreben der aufständischen Juden in der Provinz Judäa (Jüdischer Krieg, 132 – 135). Hadrians Zuwendung, neben Rom als Herrschaftszentrum, galt in großem Maße Griechenland und Athen, weswegen er für seinen Philhellenismus, den Beinamen *Graeculus* erhielt. Seine zahlreichen Reisen machten ihn zum „sichtbarsten" Kaiser des Römischen Reiches. Der fortschrittliche Kaiser zeigte ein besonderes Interesse an Architektur und förderte ausgiebig die Bautätigkeit. In seiner Regierungszeit entstanden unter anderen die Bibliothek in Athen, das Pantheon und die Engelsburg in Rom. Kaiser Hadrian hatte vielseitige Interessen; er war sprach-, sprech- und künstlerisch begabt. Außerdem war er scharfsinnig, wissensdurstig, ehrgeizig, neugierig, schlagfertig, umsichtig und großzügig. Zu seiner Regierungszeit erhielten viele freigelassene Sklaven den Namen *Adrianus*[5].

Der mit *A-*, einem der beliebtesten Anfangsbuchstaben bei Jungennamen, beginnende sechsbuchstäbige, und somit von einer durchschnittlichen Länge zeugende Rufname *Adrian*, rangiert in der Häufigkeitsliste beliebter Vornamen in Deutschland seit den 1970er Jahren mit steigender Tendenz und belegt 2021, Rang 53, wobei die Situation in Rumänien ähnlich sein dürfte. Bekannt ist, dass Personen deren Anfangsbuchstabe ihres Namens im Alphabet vorne liegt, besser in der Schule, im privaten und im persönlichen Leben wahrgenommen werden und somit erfolgreicher sein können[6].

Grammatisch hat *Adrian* ein maskulines Genus und erhält wie andere Rufnamen, standardsprachlich außer im Genitiv, Singular keinen, jedoch

[5] KOHLHEIM, KOHLHEIM 1998: 42.

[6] KOHLHEIM, KOHLHEIM 1998: 100.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

umgangssprachlich einen Artikel. Der unbestimmte Artikel vor dem Vornamen *Adrian* bedeutet, dass die Person dem Sprecher unbekannt ist. Die Flexion im Plural, nämlich *die / die / den/ der Adrians*, ist ebenfalls umgangssprachlich.

Der Vorname *Adrian*, aus dem auch gleichlautende Familiennamen hervorgegangen sind, ist ein christlicher Rufname, der infolge der Christianisierung, Eingang in die Namengebung gefunden hat und bekannte Namensträger wie z. B. den heiligen Adrian oder Adrianus von Nikomedien als Quelle hat, ein römischer Hauptmann, der unter Kaiser *Galerius Valerius Maximianus* (305 – 311), ein Gegner des Christentums, den Märtyrertod, am 4. März 306 erlitt, und in der griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche mit seiner Frau Natalia, am 26. August gefeiert wird, während die römisch-katholische Kirche, ihm ohne seiner Frau, am 8. September gedenkt[7]. Er gilt als Schutzpatron der Soldaten, Waffenhändler, Wachen und Schmiede und wird gegen Pest und Epilepsie angerufen[8]. Ein weiterer Heiliger, der die Namengebung des Rufnamens Adrian wohl auch beeinflusst hat, ist der britische Abt und Heilige, Hadrian von Canterbury, der im 7. Jh. in Nordafrika geborene Berber, der im Jahr 670 zum Abt des Benediktinerklosters in Canterbury gewählt, geweiht und Organisator des frühen angelsächsischen Schulwesens wurde[9]. Auch mehrere Päpste, die mit Sicherheit die Rufnamengebung beeinflusst haben, trugen den Namen *(H)adrian* und zwar: (H)adrian I. (772-795), mit dem fünftlängsten Pontifikat der Geschichte - 23 Jahre; Hadrian II. (867-872); heiliger (H)adrian III. (884-885); Hadrian IV. (1154-1159), der einzige englische Papst; (H)adrian V. (1276), er starb vor der Weihe und Hadrian VI. (1522-1523), der einzige niederländische Papst.

Außer den lateinischen Namenformen mit anlautenden *H-*, *Hadrianus, Hadrian* sind auch folgende moderne Varianten belegt: *Adrianus, Adrian* (lat.), *Adrianos* (griech.), *Adriano* (ital.), *Adriaan, Adriaen* (niederl.), *Adrien* (franz.), *Aidrean* (irisch), *Adria* (katalanisch), *Adrijan* (kroatisch),

7 KELLER 1996: 26; BĂLAN-MIHAILOVICI 2003: 15-16.
8 KELLER 1996: 26.
9 FARMER 1999: 32.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Adrian (engl., dt, rum., poln., schwed., span., magy.) und als Dialektformen beispielsweise *Ädu* (berndeutsch), *Aderjan* (kölsch). Als weibliche Namenvarianten gelten *Adriana, Adriane, Adrienne* und die Kurzformen *Ariana, Ariane, Aria*[10].

Die rumänischen Formen *Andrian* und *Andreian*, die seit dem 15. Jh. in der Walachei belegt sind, entstanden durch Kontamination der Namen Adrian und dem häufiger vorkommenden Namen des heiligen Apostels Andreas (rum. Andrei), der Bruder des Heiligen Petrus und Apostel der Dobrudscha[11]. Zu den ältesten rumänischen Namenvarianten die aus *Andrei* entstanden sind, zählen *Udre(a), Îndrea, Udrescu, Udrița, Udroiu, Udriște, Udriștoiu, Hudrea, Hudrici, Udriu, Undrea, Idrea, Edrea, Idriceanu(l)* u.a., die heute nur noch als Familiennamen belegt sind[12].

3. Der Familienname Poruciuc und sein Bezug zu den Suffixen -iuc und -ciuc

Poruciuc ist ein in Rumänien selten vorkommender Name. Dies bezeugt die geringe Frequenz (1 - 5 Namen) im Nordosten Rumäniens, genauer im Kreis Iași, nahe der moldawischen Grenze (28 km bis Ungheni am Prut)[13] und der fehlende Eintrag des Namens in den überregionalen Namenlexika (z.B. Constantinescu 1963 und Iordan 1983).

Obwohl der Name lautlich als Derivat mit den onymischen fremden Suffixen *-iuc* bzw. *-ciuc* wahrgenommen wird, stellt er eine einfache Bildung dar und geht auf das rum. Appellativ *parucic, porucic* zurück, welches seinerseits auf 1. das russische Appellativ *porucik*, mit der Bedeutung russischer Offizier, später Leutnant[14] und 2. auf das russische Appellativ *porușnic*, bed. Leutnant, Offizier zurückgeht, siehe auch das poln. Appellativ *porucznik*, Bedeutung ebenso und den polnischen Familiennamen

10 BURKART 1998: 26; MÜLLER-URBAN 1998: 18.
11 BĂLAN-MIHAILOVICI 2003: 16 und 34.
12 BĂLAN-MIHAILOVICI 2003: 16.
13 https:// www. hartanumeromanesti.eu (26.05.2022).
14 ȘĂINEANU 1996, Bd. 4: 136; CIORĂNESCU 2001: 623; COTEANU, SECHE 2012: 779 und 853.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

Porucznik[15]. *Poruciuc* ist ein rumänischer Berufsname, der ein militärisches Amt bezeichnet (Offizier, Leutnant) und aus dem Russischen stammt. Mit Hilfe der Familiennamendatenbasis für Deutschland, die auf Telekomanschlüsse vom 30. Juni 2005 stammt, wurde der Name *Poruciuc* auch in Deutschland abgefragt, um seine dortige geografische Verbreitung zu untersuchen, das Ergebnis jedoch ergab keine Vorkommen[16].

In seiner Bildungsweise wandelte der Name *Poruciuc*, der auf russ. *porucic* zurückgeht, wohl in Analogie zu anderen rumänischen abgeleiteten Namen in der Nordmoldau und Bukowina, jedoch auch in Bessarabien und Transnistrien, die mit den slawischen (ukrainischen) Suffixen *-ciuc* und *-iuc* gebildet sind[17] (z.B. *Andreiciuc* < Andrei + -ciuc, *Corneiciuc* < Cornel + -ciuc, *Cozmaciuc* < *Cozma* + -ciuc, *Crainiciuc* < Crainic + -ciuc, *Dascalciuc* < Dascălu + -ciuc, *Fedorenciuc* < Fjodor + -ciuc, *Gavrilciuc* < Gavril + -ciuc, *Mari(n)ciuc* < Marin +-ciuc, *Macarciuc* < Macar(ie) + -ciuc, *Mateiciuc* < Matei + -ciuc, *Moscalciuc* < Moscal(u) + -ciuc, *Nicolaiciuc* < Nicolae + -ciuc, *Onofreiciuc* < Onufrie / Onofrei + -ciuc, *Pavelciuc* < Pavel + -ciuc, *Romanciuc* < Roman + -ciuc, *Savelciuc* < Savel + -ciuc, *Vacarciuc* < Văcaru + -ciuc; *Bodnariuc* < Bodnar / Butnar + -iuc, *Brânzaniuc* < Brânză + an + -iuc, *Butnariuc* < Butnaru + -iuc, *Costiuc* < Constantin + -iuc, *Lazariuc* < Lazăr + -iuc, *Maximiuc* < Maxim + -iuc, *Romaniuc* < Roman + -iuc, *Vatamaniuc* < Vataman(u) + -iuc, *Saviuc* < Sava + -iuc, *Verștiuc* < Toponym Verești + -iuc u.a.), seine Endsilbe *-cic*, in das oben genannte Suffix *-ciuc* um, durch interne Hinzufügung des Vokals *-u-*, so dass aus ursprünglichem *Porucic*, heutiges *Poruciuc* entstanden ist.

Da, wie schon vorhin erwähnt, der Name *Poruciuc* weder für Rumänien, noch für Deutschland als Namenkarte ergiebig ist, habe ich versucht, einen geografischen Bezug des Namens zu den onymischen Suffixen slawisch-ukrainischer Herkunft *-ciuc* und *-iuc*, in vermutlich

---

15 SCRIBAN, 2013: 1021; IORDAN 1983: 376.

16 Den Zugang zur Datenbasis 2005 in Deutschland verdanke ich den Projektleitern und Herausgebern des *Deutschen Familiennamenatlasses* (DFA), Prof. Dr. Konrad Kunze (Universität Freiburg) und Prof. Dr. Damaris Nübling (Universität Mainz), im Rahmen und nach meines von der „Alexander von Humboldt" – Stiftung geförderten Forschungsprojektes über deutsche Familiennamen an der Freiburger Universität. Die Datenbasis beruht auf Telekomeinträgen 2005 und auf ein von Richard Kunze, von der Tiwano Software GmbH entwickeltes elektronisches Auswertungsprogramm.

17 CONSTANTINESCU 1963: LXII; IORDAN 1983: 15; TOMESCU 2001: 40 und 43.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

rumänischen Familiennamen aus Deutschland, mit migrationsbedingtem Hintergrund, herzustellen.

Die Abfrage in der Datenbank. **ciuc |.*iuc* ergibt 2 Varianten und 207 Telefonanschlüsse: *Typ .*iuc* 117 Tel. und *Typ.*ciuc* 90 Tel.

Die Anlage der Karte ist: absolute Karte, 3-stellige PLZ, Symbolgröße 2 – 35, entspricht min. 1 – max. 8.

Beide Namensuffixe kommen in Deutschland südlich einer Linie Münster – Bielefeld – Hannover – Berlin verstreut vor (siehe **Karte**), was jedoch auf eine Migration in wichtigen Industriezentren wie München, Augsburg, Nürnberg, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Ruhrgebiet zurückzuführen ist. Die größten Symbole für *Typ .*iuc* (117 Tel.) befinden sich in den Postleitzahlgebieten (PLZ) 994 Weimar (0,16‰, 5 Tel.), PLZ 724 Albstatt / Württemberg (0,11‰, 5 Tel.), PLZ 612 Usingen (0,09‰, 4 Tel.), PLZ 402 Düsseldorf (0,04‰, 3 Tel.), PLZ 235 Lübeck (0,05‰, 3 Tel.), PLZ 236 Bad Schwartau (Holstein) (0,08‰, 3 Tel.) und jene vom *Typ .*ciuc* (90 Tel.) betreffen die PLZ 331 Padeborn (0,08‰, 8 Tel.), PLZ 382 Salzgitter (0,11‰, 5 Tel.), PLZ 904 Nürnberg (0,02‰, 3 Tel.), PLZ 926 Weiden i. d. Oberpfalz (0,09‰, 3 Tel.), PLZ 594 Unna / Westfalen (0,05‰, 3 Tel.).

4. Fazit

Adrian Poruciuc ist ein Name, der Kampfgeist, Strategie, Tatkraft und Siegeswille in sich trägt, aber auch eine Vorliebe für Wort und Kunst, Einsicht und Güte ausdrückt.

Anerkennend wünsche ich dem Jubilar alles Beste, Gesundheit und viele Jahre erfolgreichen Einsatzes und Forschens.

Bibliography

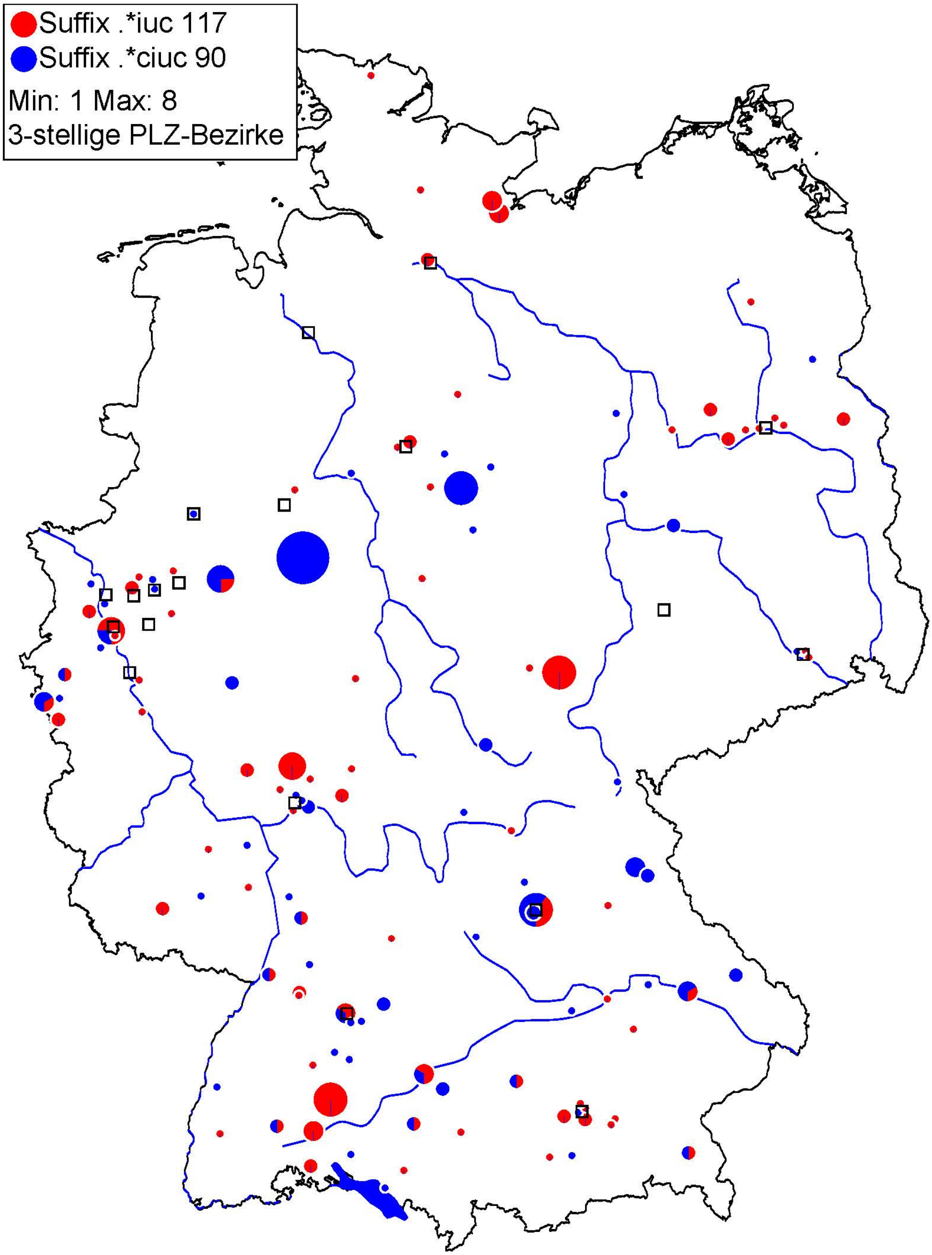
BĂLAN-MIHAILOVICI 2003 Bălan-Mihailovici, A., *Dicționar onomastic creștin. Repere etimologice și martirologice*, Ed. Minerva, București.

BURKART 1998 Burkart, W., *Neues Lexikon der Vornamen. Über 10.000 Namen. Herkunft, Bedeutung, Kurz- und Koseformen*, Bastei Lübbe, Bergisch Gladbach.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

CIORĂNESCU 2001	Ciorănescu, A., *Dicționarul etimologic al limbii române*, Ed. Saeculum I.O., București.
CONSTANTINESCU 1963	Constantinescu, N. A., *Dicționar onomastic românesc*, Ed. Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, București.
COTEANU, SECHE, SECHE 2012	Coteanu, I., Seche, L., Seche M., *Dicționarul Explicativ al Limbii române* (DEX), Ed. Univers enciclopedic gold, București.
FARMER 1999	Farmer, D. H., *Oxford. Dicționar al Sfinților*, Ed. Univers enciclopedic, București.
IORDAN 1983	Iordan, I., *Dicționar al numelor de familie românești*, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, București.
KELLER 1996	Keller, H. L., *Reclams Lexikon der Heiligen und der biblischen Gestalten. Legende und Darstellung in der bildenden Kunst*, Philipp Reclam jun., Stuttgart.
KOHLHEIM, KOHLHEIM 1998	Kohlheim, R., Kohlheim, V., *Duden. Lexikon der Vornamen*, Dudenverlag, Mannheim, Leipzig, Wien, Zürich.
KUNZE 1999	Kunze, K., *dtv – Atlas Namenkunde. Vor- und Familiennamen im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, München.
MÜLLER-URBAN 1998	Müller-Urban, K., *Die schönsten Vornamen aus aller Welt*, Bechtermünz, Augsburg.
NÜBLING, FAHLBUSCH, HEUSER 2012	Nübling, D., Fahlbusch, F., Heuser, R., *Namen. Eine Einführung in die Onomastik*, Narr, Tübingen.
PETRACHE 1998	Petrache, T., *Dicționar enciclopedic al numelor de botez*, Ed. Anastasia, București.
SCRIBAN 2013	Scriban, A., *Dicționarul limbii românești. Etimologii, înțelesuri, exemple, citații, arhaisme, neologisme, provincialisme.* Ed. Saeculum I. O, București.
ȘĂINEANU 1996	Șăineanu, L., *Dicționar universal al limbii române*. Vocabularul general (N-R), vol. 4, Mydo Center, ohne Ort.
TOMESCU 2001	Tomescu, D., *Numele de persoană la români*, Ed. Univers enciclopedic, București.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro



Karte der onymischen Suffixe *-iuc* und *-ciuc* in Deutschland,
laut Telefonanschlüssen 2005

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

The archaic myth of 'the hero slaying the sea monster'.

Professor Poruciuc's linguistic and folkloric activity – A brief survey

ANA R. CHELARIU*

Abstract: the present work is a Festschrift honoring Professor Adrian Poruciuc for his 75th anniversary. The impressive linguistic and folkloric activity is discussed with special attention to the publication "Prehistoric Roots of Romanian and Southeast European Traditions", (Institute of Archaeomythology, 2010) and the mythical motifs hidden in the Romanian Christmas carols. Professor Poruciuc's linguistic preoccupations confronted the dominant opinion according to which Romanian language contains no Old Germanic elements, demonstrating the presence of Gothic isoglosses in language, discussed here in relation to the Proto-Indo-European roots.

Keywords: *Adrian Poruciuc; historical linguistics; Romanian folklore; Romanian Christmas carols; sea-monster dulf; dragon; hero killing the monster; Iovan Iorgovan; archaic myths; Old Germanic loanwords in Romanian; Proto-Indo-European.*

It is an honor for me to celebrate the long carrier of Professor Adrian Poruciuc, an important scholar in the Romanian linguistics and folklore.

In a relevant presentation, *From Archaeology to Archaeomythology*, 2012 (Habilitation Thesis), Professor Poruciuc details his activity and avatars in his long university carrier. The strong knowledge of English and German

* Independent researcher: achelariu@verizon.net.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

languages led him to explore the Romanian history and language in the context of the pre- and proto- Indo-European relations.

As a Fulbright visiting scholar, Poruciuc was granted a two-year stay at the University of Chicago, Illinois, United States (1990-1992), time that enabled him to focus on Indo-European studies, as well as on researching the Southeast European traditional culture. During his stay, he had the opportunity to meet and conduct pertinent discussions with University researchers, among whom renowned names like Eric Hamp, Zbigniew Gołąb, Kostas Kazazis, Victor Friedman; he also had the opportunity to present papers at various conferences, colloquiums and symposiums. A turning point in his carrier was the encounter with Marija Gimbutas at the University of California, Los Angeles, and the representatives of the Interdisciplinary Indo-European Center, relation that significantly marked Poruciuc research development, in what it became his archaeomythology preoccupations. His extensive studies resulted in the impressive number of publications, revealing Professor Poruciuc preoccupation with the "problems and patterns" of the Southeast European "ethno- and glottogenesis." He focused his activity on the Oriental Fertile Crescent and the North Pontic area in relation to the making of Southeast Europe as we know it. In an earlier article published in *Thraco-Dacica,* he states: "I focused on possible perpetuation of proper names not only from pre-Roman, but also from pre-Indo-European sources. I paid special attention to categories of substratal names (mainly mono- and disyllabic anthroponyms) which constitute evidence of a very solid demic basis of Neolithic origin, in both Anatolia and Southeast Europe. Such names can be said to represent a 'Namenbund' that unites the two areas."[1] Poruciuc's approach to the subject ranged from etymological to cultural-ethnological analysis, such as, the etymological correspondence between Dacian dava/deva (as origin of the Romanian city-name Deva) and Ancient Greek *Thebai* toponym, that may have referred to the Bronze Age hillfort concept. Professor Poruciuc field of observation spreads from the main theories of the Indo-European languages research, through the Nostratic School, reaching his own conclusions "on the substratal glottal stock that I designated as 'Egyptoid', since I have found

1 PORUCIUC 2012: 3.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

quite a number of elements that the European substratal vocabulary has in common with Ancient Egyptian."[2]

Professor Poruciuc's studies in Romanian history and linguistics led him against the dominant opinion according to which Romanian language contains no Old Germanic elements. Yet, based on his life-long preoccupation on this topic and his documentation on the account of contacts between Old Germanic populations and the natives of the Carpathian area, he published a series of articles on Germanic elements preserved in Daco-Romanian, especially judicial lexical forms of Germanics, such as *ban, băni, bănat, bănui* and *bântui*: OGerm *bann-* and *band-* 'proclamation, prohibition, decree', Croatian title *ban*; It. *bano*; the DRom developments are: v. *bănat* 'accusation', v. *bănui* 'to suspect' and v. *bântui* 'to punish'; and also Romanian family names Ban and Banu[3].

To reinforce his argument on the Germanic loans in Romanian, he published a well-documented article[4] giving a very detailed account of the chronology of Old Germanic loans in Romanian and in other South-East European languages. To this etymological solution for the Romanian *ban* 'governor' I will mention Pokorny's discussion in *Indogermanisches etymologiscches worterbuch* or IEW (1959) page 96-97: **bend-, bnd-no-* 'spike, needle, summit', from which X. Delamarre[5] brought forward the following: "Le thème Banno-/ Benno- 'pique, pointe, corne' est bien attesté dans l'onomastique galloromaine: Bannus, Banna, Banno, peut-être le Deus Cobanus (AE 2000: 1847), c.-à-d. *Co-banno-s 'dieu à la corne' *bhendh-no- / *bh dh-no- > benno- / banno- et il se continue dans l'irl. benn 'sommet, corne, pointe', gallois bann 'id.' De son côté, l'Augustus Deus Cobannus, c'est-à-dire *Co-banno-, plutôt qu'une variété de forgeron du type Goibniu (*Gobann-i on-) 9, serait une divinité priapique, 'doté d'une corne', de sémantisme comparable au Jupiter Bussumarus de Dacie, c'est-à-dire *Buđđu-māro-s 'au grand pénis," The spread of this isogloss in the Indo-European languages is

2 PORUCIUC 2012: 34.
3 PORUCIUC 2008: 389-390.
4 PORUCIUC 2015.
5 DELAMARRE 2017.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

attested also by the presence of the Roman god of Celtic origin in archaeological data from the Dacian territory mentioned by Delamarre,

On the same subject Poruciuc published in *Philologica Jassyensia*[6] a list of verified lexical material of Old Germanic in Romanian language, e.g. ateia 'to dress up'; bardă 'broad-ax'; bordei 'hut'; borţ 'womb of a pregnant woman'; burtă 'belly'; filmă 'an evil fairy'; gard 'fence, garden, weir'; rânc 'half-castrated'; rudă 'pole, long stick'; ştimă 'ghost, fairy'; targă 'stretcher'; tureac 'boot leg'. The professor's list Old Germanic loans, "…discussed in articles published during the last fifteen years or so: e.g. the ban lexical family – see above; brânduşă 'crocus'; budă 'seasonal dwelling in the woods'; cioareci 'peasant trousers'; găman 'cowherd, glutton'; holm 'steep bank, hill'; holtei 'bachelor'; râncă 'horse's penis, a fish'; rânciog 'piece of the plough'; scrânciob 'swing'; tală 'noisy talk'; teafăr 'sane, wholesome'," is later enlarged by some other Old Germanic forms, such as: bundă 'sleeveless fur-coat'; căulă 'small raft for fishing, float of a fishing net'; cocon 'child (of a noble family)'; cotigă 'two-wheeled cart, forepart of a plough'; cotângan 'youth, lad'; gata 'ready'; ghiborţ 'a fish'; grindei 'a piece of the plough'; grindel 'a fish', grundeţ 'a fish'; hânsă 'part of a whole'; hânsar 'horse soldier that fights only for boot'; însăila 'to tack'; troacă 'trough'; viscol 'blizzard'."

All the Old Germanic forms analyzed and discussed by Poruciuc in his articles are relevant to the evolution of the Romanian language, and, in spite of the potential controversies, they open up the way for future research. A comparison that may offer an interesting perspective in this effort, would be to analyze these isoglosses presence or absence in the Aromanian, or the other Romanian dialects/languages, helping to clarify if the contact of the Daco-Romanians with the Gothic population, happened primarily North of the Danube, for example, the form *fara, fară* 'kin, tribe' that is found in Aromanian, while *ban* 'governor' and *bănui* 'to suspect' are not. The Germanic forms discussed by the author, and their correspondences in the Proto-Indo-European listed in Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologiscches worterbuch,* (IEW here) next to the IE cognates, could extend the etymological spectrum, as for example the IEW *bher- 'to bear (a child)') with developments in Daco-Romanian n. burtă; (old dialectal) borţ 'belly'; IEW

---

6 PORUCIUC 2012.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

125-126 *bhelĝh- 'swell' > *bhólĝhis 'skin, belly,' with cognates in Old Irish bolgr 'sack', Gaul bulga 'leather sack'; Irish bolgaim 'swell', bolg 'bubble', bolg 'sack, bag, belly, husk, trouser', MedIrish bolgach 'swelling, blister, bubble, blister; pox', bolgamm "gulp'; and particularly the Germanics, OE bel(i)g 'bag' < NE belly; OHG balg 'skin'; Skt upa-barhani 'cover, bolster.'

Addressing the fervent discussions concerning the Romanian-Albanian relations, Poruciuc declares that he is "among the ones who believe that the most important part of the lexical stock Albanian and Romanian have in common is not due to vicinity and exchange in historical times, but to a common Palaeobalkan substratum"[7]. The author lists numerous examples of surnames from both languages pertaining to their Palaeobalkan background: Albanian Bojk, Bukur, Bulaj, Dashe, Galea, Galan, Male, Mirja, Shuti, Zoto ~ and Romanian Boicu, Bucur, Bulai, Daşu, Galea, Galan, Malea, Mirea, Şutea, Zotu. Among the examples presented are the Albanian Shuti and Romanian Şutea referring to "etymologically obscure appellatives meaning 'hornless'', cf. Albanian shyt and Romanian şut, ciut, ciută. The Albanian form is explained by Orel in his *Albanian Etymological Dictionary* as a Proto-Albanian borrowed by the Slavic populations, but in Vasmer we find in Bulgarian kossuth, SerboCroat. koshuta, Sloven. košúta, Old Cech. košut 'deer', considered a compound form of particle ko- and *šutъ 'hornless;' by itself šutъ has the meaning of 'jester, clown. fool' in Ukrainian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Russian. To help solve etymologically obscure forms, a reference to Pokorny's list could be instrumental in this case the IEW 930 offers *(s)keng- ´limp´, *skak-thi-, *skeng-ti-; -thi- after Skt ásthi- 'bone,' roots that could explaine the Daco-Romanian. ciung, ciump 'one armed, crippled', ciunt, 'uni-horned, one armed, ´ v. ciunti ´cut short; ´ from the same family: ciot 'stump, stub'; ciut, fem. ciută, 'hornless' (of deer) results in accord with Poruciuc that we have here examples of a PanBalkanic substratal form, in the Albanian shut(ë), cognates with other Indo-European developments: OHG hinkan ´limp´; Grk skázō ´limp´; Skt kañj- ´limp´, sákthi- n (= Av. haxti-) 'shank.'

Other Albanian and Romanian common forms discussed by Poruciuc include the "surnames (apparently both based on the Indo-European root

---

7 PORUCIUC 2012: 22.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

*bhel- 'to shine, bright, white'') Albanian Bala, Balak (Ballak), Balja, Baliq, Balince, Baloku, Ballosh, Balsha, Balaj ~ Romanian Bala (Bălă), Balac, Balea (Bălea), Balici, Balinţ, Baloc, Baloş, Balşa, Bălaiu. Last but not least, the names of the two series can be referred to ancient ones, such as Illyrian Balles, Ballaios, Baloia (extracted from RUSSU 1969) and Thracian Βάλλα, Βαλας, Βαλης, Βαλοια (extracted from DETSCHEW 1957)[8]."

The linguistic expertise of Professor Poruciuc and his instrumental activities, particularly at the Romanian Institute of Thracology resulted in advanced studies in Southeast European substratal elements, presentation at the 7th International Congress of Thracology (1996), and numerous articles published in *Thraco-Dacica* and other magazines, making his works crucial in any future linguistic studies.

Besides the impressive activity in historical linguistics, Professor Poruciuc has remarkable achievements in the Romanian folklore research. The beauty and freshness of the Romanian oral traditions are nearly unknown to the researchers unfamiliar with the Romanian language. Joining the few scholars that toiled to alleviate this lack of information, Poruciuc published the book *Prehistoric Roots of Romanian and Southeast European Traditions,* (Institute of Archaeomythology, 2010) publication that offers a glimpse into the archaic treasures of the Romanian traditions, particularly into Christmas carols, Romanian *colinde.*

Starting from the premises that the Romanian folk elements are the result of the Indo-Europeanization, Adrian Poruciuc considers that, remarkably, this process did not succeed in covering all the archaic Neolithic traces of ritual and mythical motifs. Following on the steps of Marija Gimbutas, the author addresses the Romanian folkloric heritage as reminiscence of the so called 'Old Europe' societies, particularly the Cucuteni/Tripolya cultures. Akin to the numerous female figurines found by archaeologists in these areas the conclusions are that these archaic cultural complexes held beliefs centered on the worship of female figures. These civilizations were disturbed by patriarchal warrior-like pastoral tribes, known as the Indo-Europeans that imposed their language and culture.

---

8 PORUCIUC 2012: 25.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

For decades the Romanian scholars concentrated their studies on the Latinity of the Romanian culture, neglecting the comparative method of studies as an important research instrument. The lack of comprehensive studies using this method makes it difficult to discern the particulars of the Romanian cultural heritage among the European cultures. For that reason, the Poruciuc study becomes a must read.

The author begins his narrative of the Romanian Christmas carols with the chapter "The Romanian *dolf* 'sea-monster'," [9] in which the aquatic monster eats "the apples," perhaps the golden apples representing the sun; it is the hero duty to shoot the monster down with his bow and arrow; upon this threat, the *dolf* suggests to go together to a land where the grass "*grows and grows and nobody mows,"* perhaps a realm in the Otherworld. Analyzing this carol, the author makes a connection between the hero's name Gheorghe and the Christian dragon slayer, *Sfântul Gheorghe*/St. George, an association sends us to the well-known Romanian song of *Iovan Iorgovan*, the dragon slayer, Remarkably, in Poruciuc's book the dragon from classic myth is replaced by a sea-monster, an aspect quite uncommon in the European heritage. The mythic motif of the hero slaying the monster from the Christmas carol analyzed by Poruciuc is found abundantly in Romanian folklore, especially in fairy tales retelling the actions of hero killing a dragon, motif considered a quintessential Indo-European myth.

Recited at fests, more frequently in the Southern part of the Romanian territory the song *Iovan Iorgovan*[10] is interpreted by old bards during holidays, performed in the specific chanting rhythm. The story begins with three sisters going for a walk in the forest; needing to rest, the older sisters abandon the youngest while she sleeps. The 'three sisters' motif, and the abandonment of the youngest one, may not be found in all versions, some folklorists considering it a contamination with the ballad "Three Sisters". Alone in the forest, the girl finds herself threatened by a dragon coming out from a nearby cave; her screams are heard by the hero Iovan, who runs to her rescue. To reach the girl, Iovan has to cross the very

[9] PORUCIUC 2010.
[10] VRABIE 1966: 159.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

turbulent River Cerna to which he must offer magical objects and gifts in exchange for letting him cross it. Among these gifts are: a magic silver spinning wheel that turns by itself, and a magic fish; these enchanted offerings may indicate old rituals revealing the river's sacrality and divine functions. Reaching the girl's place in the forest, and while awaiting the dragon's re-appearance, Iovan lays his head on her lap, and falls asleep, as in the known motif of *Deus otiosus* 'the sleeping god,' frequently found in myth and folklore of the South Eastern Europe. He is awakened by the girl's tears at the site of the dragon. Before fighting, the dragon warns Iovan that, if he will cut off his head, a very dangerous horsefly will come out of it, a fly that could kill horses, cattle, and even people. The hero tells the monster that he will teach people how to start fumes to kill the fly, and save everyone, his teachings confirming his divine role as a culture hero. In some variants the story ends here, without further reference to an actual fight; in others the hero slays each of the three dragon's heads with his arrows.

The origin of the hero's name is presumably related to the Serbian form Jovan, believed to have its origin in Hebrew Yohānān, through the Greek Iōannēs, hence the Slavic forms Ivan, Iovan. According to this argument, the Romanian song and the name of the hero is a borrowing from the Serbian tradition, where the name Iovan is found in the song "Iovan and the Leader of the Giants" (Songs of the Serbian People, 1997: 21). In this song the hero Iovan, at his mother request, kills many giants and a dragon; although the hero kills a dragon, this act is not the main subject of the song, being mixed among many other actions, primarily the killing of giants, ending in adversity towards his mother. The Romanian mythological character baring the name Iovan Iorgovan is not to be found in popular songs South West of Danube, were the dragon slayer is mostly encountered as Saint George[11]. It is well accepted that the development of the form 'Ivan' from the Greek Iōannēs took place in all Slavic languages; yet, it is less discussed the innovation 'Iovan,' especially since a similar form is found in

[11] VRABIE 1966: 144.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

the Armenian history as 'Yovan', the name of an army chief from IXth century[12], and his successor Hovan, as well as in the common Armenian name Hovanes.

The Romanian dragon slayer's name, Iorgovan, is cognate with the Greek word γεωργιοσ 'farmer,'[13] associated with Ζευς Γεωργος, the god of farming and crops, Zeus "the husbandman" venerated in Ancient Athens, and his festival was on the 10th day of Maimakterion, at the time of plowing and sowing. The particle -van that forms the hero's whole name could be at first glance the result of rhyming needs, Iovan Iorgovan. Yet, this particle reflected in the Avenstan / Old Persian -van 'overpower, triumph, win', frequently found in compound forms as for example: Avestan aša-van, Old Persian artā-van "to win with the help of truth"; Iranian ur-van 'soul,' together with other forms with similar development: ad-van 'way', kərəθ-van 'doer', is-van 'powerful', maga-van 'adept of religion, ăθra-van 'priest'[14]. The Greek γεωργιοσ 'farmer' etymological solution for Iorgovan can be disputed by the forms *jorgovan* in Serbian, and *jargavan* in Albanian, both meaning a 'lilac flower', a form frequently used in South West Romania, the Banat region. This form is considered a borrowing from the Turkish language *ergavan*, *erguvan*, a bush with purple/lilac flowers, known also as the Judas' tree. The origin of this Turkish word is found in the Persian form *arghavân* meaning the 'red bud', color 'purple/pink'[15], often used as a girl's name, Argavana. One possible connection between the lilac flower *ergavan* and the Romanian hero who kills the dragon, Iorgovan, could be through the color purple, a color particularly used in Byzantine royal attire reserved exclusively for the royal family. Another historical fact is that the flower *ergavan* was the traditional flower of Istanbul, a form-flower that entered the Serbian area once the Ottoman army conquered the country. This explanation, as tempting as it may be, remains within the speculative domain, mainly since there are no connections between the Romanian

12 PETROSYAN 2002: 138.
13 CONSTANTINESCU 1963: 66.
14 CASARTELLI 1922: 127.
15 CLAUSON 1972.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

dragon slayer and the flower, lilac, or any other pink flower, and the name of this flower in DRom is *liliac* not *iorgovan*, which is used excusively in the Western Romanian region bordering Serbia[16].

The mythical motif of the dragon slayer has its archaic roots deep into the ancient hymns and prayers, addressed to the storm god, who must fight the obstructer of rain, and restore the cosmic order. One of the oldest versions of the dragon slaying myth is found in a Hittite ancient prayer song, asking gods for rain and abundance of crops[17].

The Greek tradition knows many versions of this myth: the Earth monster Typhoeus or Typhon, the son of Gaia. linked to strong storms and hurricanes, is struck by Zeus's lightening. Hesiod (*Theog.* 820-835) describes this monster as having a hundred heads with black tongues flickering and fire spreading, with terrible voices coming from each head, a frightening monster challenging the sovereignty Zeus. Apollodorus (*The Library* 1.6.3) gives the following account of the fight: after being struck by the god, the dragon coils around Zeus, and, taking his sickle, cuts the god's sinews from hands and feet, leaving him in the Corycian cave; but Hermes recovers them, and gives them back to Zeus, who defeats the monster, and, in the end, imprison it beneath Mount Etna, where is still causing havoc with the volcanic fires.

The motif of fighting with monsters can be related to the foundation myths, for example, one such myth is that of Apollo slewing the huge serpent, Python, at Delphi, where he establishes his oracle. In another story told by Apollodorus, Cadmus (Latinized form of Kadmos) has to follow a guiding cow to the place the animal would lay down in order to establish the city of Thebes; Cadmus wants to sacrifice the guiding cow to Athena, and sends his men to bring water from the nearby spring guarded by a dragon. Cadmus kills the dragon, and, as instructed by Athena, the hero sows its teeth, from which the armed men called Spartoi (Sown Men) arise (Apollodorus: *The library* 3.4.1), as Chrysaor and Pegasus sprang from Medusa's neck when Perseus slayed her (Apollodorus: *The library* 2.42). The

---

[16] CHELARIU 2023: 153.

[17] BURKERT 1979: 8.

[12] CHELARIU 2023: 153.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

famous hero Heracles in his labors encounters monsters, as when he saves Hesiona from a sea-dragon, or smashes each of Hydra's heads with his club. (Apollodorus: *The library* 2.4.8-2.7.7),

In the Indian tradition the god Indra fights with the monster Vṛtra, obstructer of the cows symbolizing water and dawn; upon seeing the serpent, Indra gets scared and turns away, a similar first defeat that was suffered by the Hittite Storm God or Zeus; then he recovers, and strikes the serpent with his thunderbolt, releasing the waters needed for the crops. From the monster Vṛtra's teeth come out the fierce fighters Maruti, as the Spartoi from the dragon's teeth in Cadmus' story; then, from each of his heads fly away a flock of partridge, a sparrow, and quail birds. In the Iranian version of the myth the hero must vanquish the monster with three heads, named Azhi (serpent) Dahaka, who lived in a place named "the palace of the Stork", perhaps in a connection with the birds coming out of the monster Vṛtra's head. In some later version, the monster is imprisoned beneath a volcanic mountain as in the Greek myth[18].

The German thunder god, Thor, plans to vanquish Jörmungandr, also known as Midgard serpent, coiled like a belt around the world, using his hammer called Mjollnir or 'Crusher, maul' (wooden club), generally identified as a thunderbolt (Snorri, *The Prose of Edda:* 48).

In an Irish story, the hero Fraich (Fráech Fróech, Fraoch) swims across a boundary, suggesting the crossing into the other realm, a pool in which lives the dragon Lord of the Otherworld, a passage describing perhaps a rite of initiation. During the encounter with the monster, Findabair, the hero's lover, comes to his aid, and gives him the sword with which he slays the serpent, but in the fight he is badly wounded[19]. In another Irish story, Fergus mac Léti goes under water where he sees the water monster, 'muirdris'. He becomes disfigured by fear, and, for seven years, he is under interdiction to see his face, and a slave girl washes his face for him; one time, because she is not answering his request quick enough, Fergus kills her, and plunges under

---

[18] WEST 2007: 262.

[19] BRENNEMAN 1991: 73.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

water. After one night and one day, he comes out holding the monster's head, then he falls down dead[20].

The Russian folklore records the dragon fight story in the well-known ballad *Dobrynya Nikitich slaying Zmey Gorynych*: Dobrynya Nikitich was bathing in the Puchai River when the dragon appeared; initially he thought he was going to die because he had no weapons at hand to defend himself, but he finds "a hat of the Greek land" and uses it to defeat the dragon. The dragon asked Dobrynya Nikitich not to kill him and they agreed not to attack each other again. Soon after, the dragon captures the niece of Prince Vladimir, Zabava Potyatichna. The prince askes the hero to rescue his niece; Dobrynya Nikitich goes to the Saracen Mountains and the fight starts; on the third day of fighting, when Dobrynya Nikitich is ready to give up, he hears a voice from heaven telling him to go on fighting, and after three more hours the hero kills the dragon; as the story goes, because the dragon's blood did not sink into the ground the hero is stuck in the monster's blood for three days. Once again, he hears a voice from heaven telling him to stick his spear into the ground while uttering some magic words, and so the blood disappear into the earth and Dobrynya Nikitich rescues Zabava[21].

Interestingly, all these mythical motifs are united in one way or another by the element of water: the dulf from the Romanian carol analyzed by Poruciuc is a sea monster, and all the other monsters are either obstructing the fertilizing waters, living in a lake or near by a body of water, or in a cave, but the hero must cross a sacred river as in the Romanian song, which leads to the conclusion that this archaic myth was either a fertility ritual prayer, or related to a storm god. Other beliefs on the relation between dragons and water are found in the Romanian traditions, where the dragons are regarded as rainy clouds, imagined as the sun's bulls, pulling his cart with water; when they are getting lazy they would let the water pour over the cart, and thus, it rains. Other stories describe the clouds as dragons driven by '*solomonari*', highly trained wizards with special powers, and able to ride

---

20 WATKINS 1995: 441-447.

21 BAILEY, IVANOVA 1998: 81.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

these creatures, whipping (lightening) and driving them over the sky (thundering), forcing them to burst the water, and start the rain[22].

The monstrous serpent is also present in the Romanian cosmogony: the creator Fârtat punishes the *balaur* 'dragon' for the continuous mischiefs to coil nine times around the Earth, and protect it from floods[23], a motif reminding of *Jörmungandr*, also known as Midgard serpent, the Old Norse dragon coiling around the Earth in the depth of the ocean.

The sea-monster *dolf's* medium is also water, in connection with all the other monsters discussed above and the hero [*Iovan*] *Iorgovan* encounter with the River Cerna; his name exclusively reserved to the dragon slyer, has roots in the Greek form γεωργιοσ, linked to farming, fertility, and production of wealth, both monsters showing mythical relation to waters, albeit the sea-monster comes out of the sea threatening the sun.

Fascinated by the new ideas from the recent research studies of Williams Ryan and Walter Pitman on Noah's Flood (1998) and the flood of the former Euxine Lake, the author leads us to believe in the surviving of the sea and the sea-flood motif in Romanian folklore. Poruciuc presents carols in which the sea-monster *dolf* comes out of the Black Sea and "to jump on the red-apple," challenging anyone to fight him (2010). The young man Ion, who happened to pass by, gets his bow and arrow ready to kill the monster, but again, similar to the dragon from the song of Iovan, the dolf argues with him against shooting, promising him his little sister as a wife. Discussing the etymology of *dolf,* Poruciuc begins his demonstration from a relationship between two concepts: that of 'dolphin' and that of 'womb, uterus,' both found in Greek roots *delphis* and *delphus* or *dolphos*. Following Marija Gimbutas argument regarding the Greek delphis and *delphus* in relation to the prehistoric body-temples of the Great Goddess Mother-of-All and her mystery rituals of birth and rebirth, Poruciuc makes a connection with the fish-like statues of goddesses found in Old Europe and the name of the fish monster in the carols. The etymology of *dolf* and its semantic and linguistic connotations are discussed, and various developments in Romanian, particularly family names. An interesting cognate is the Romanian *dolcă* and

22 NICULIȚĂ-VORONCA 1998: II 160.
23 VULCĂNESCU 1987: 425.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

the variant *dolfa*, meaning 'bitch' (masc. dulău), which complicates somehow the etymology for *dolf/dulf* as 'dolphin/sea-monster.' Another possible solution offered by the author for this etymology may be the relation to the 'womb' *delphus* concept, based on the shape of the prehistoric temples designed to represent the outline of the Great Mother Goddess's body. Thus, considering the connection between the Greek *delphys* 'womb' and the name of the famous Apollonian temple at Delphi, where the *omphalos* was documented to be from pre-Hellenic times, such womb-shrines relation from prehistory stay proof of ritual sacred spaces, in which the neophytes would pass through and be 'reborn' initiated.

In another carol known as "the quarrel of the shepherd and the sea" the sea is the central character threatening the livelihood of the shepherd with big waters, but the young man's response is that his dogs will bark alerting him on time to secure his herd; in another version, his two black rams will dash against each other with a thunder noise and he will gather his sheep and leave for the mountains. In Poruciuc's opinion, references to the sea as a threatening natural phenomenon are part of a collective memory of the Biblical flood or other floods, or just archetypal structures used in "cosmic flood myths of destruction and rebirth" leading into discussing the debates between the archetypal and ethnographic positions.

Poruciuc offers a detailed analysis of the Great Mother Goddess of Neolithic that continued its cultic existence as Demeter in the Greek pantheon. The author is of "the opinion shared by several earlier scholars (notably Müller and Kretschemer) that Demeter is a compound form literally meaning 'Earth-Mother', an explanation well sustained not only by linguistic arguments, but also by archaeological finds and historical documents. To further the discussion, we could add that her name has its origin in the Proto-Indo-European root *dgem- meaning 'earth;' she is also known as Ga or Ge/Da or De, Mycenaean da-ma-te / Dāmātēr. Her consort, Dionysos, Earth's Bridegroom, in myth being 'Zeus's Son,' is "just a folk etymology." in the author's view.

It may be worth to note that Dionysos was also the son of Semele, whose name means also 'earth,' a development from the same PIE root *dgem- 'earth', as it is found in the Thracian-Phrygian Zemele, 'mother earth',

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

with cognates in Sanskrit ksam, Avestan za, zam, Greek ζμε, Σεμελη, Phrygian ξεμελφ, Illirian Δφ, Δα&, Δαμια, Lithuanian Žemi, Old Church Slavic zemlja, Dionysos can very well qualify as the Earth's Bridegroom. He is known by different archaic names, Sabas, Sabazios, Zagreos, and Zen or Zan.

In connection with these denominations, the author offers an etymology for the controversial word 'fairy' *zână*, traditionally explained by the name of Latin goddess Diana. Poruciuc argues that the Romanian *zână* may have "played brides in the *hieros gamos* rituals," thus a feminine development from the name Zan[24]. Here I may add to the discussion another very productive Indo-European root that could help solve the etymology for the Romanian *zână*: *gen-, genə, gno- 'give birth'; *gon-os Skt. jana-h, Av. zâna, compound in word for 'men, humanity', and *gena Greek γενη'σ, Thracian zenes; *ĝenə -ter Skt. janitār 'creator, father', fem janitrī 'creatrice, mother, birth-giving. Further we have Skt. gnā 'goddess', also meaning 'woman' Skt. jáni-h-, Av. jaini, NPers. zan, OPers. Vocative genno, OCS žena, Toch A śäm, B śana, Alb. zonje, all 'woman'. These cognates, together with the Thracian – zenes, could direct us to conclude that there probably was a feminine zena, zâna 'fairy, nymph'[25], a bride in rituals as suggested by Poruciuc.

The author concludes his analyses stating that Demeter and Dionysos represent Neolithic Near East and Southeast Europe religious beliefs in the Mother-Earth goddess and her Earth's Bridegroom. In his argument, Poruciuc discusses other Romanian carols in which the 'adversary' threatening the young lad is a lion, usually not present in Southeast Europe Mountains, and yet, found on a Thracian silver appliqué from the fourth century, showing a primitive image of Heracles and a subdued lion, an archaeological evidence which may explain the continuity of this animal image in the Romanian carols.

Professor Poruciuc opened new ways to approach the original meanings of the folklore creations from times immemorial, bringing to the attention the specific social and ethnographic values of autochthonous data, in spite of the fact that it was recorded after millennia: "I trust that I have

24 PORUCIUC 2010: 55.
25 CHELARIU 2003: 74.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

proposed credible connections between the fabulous personages surviving in the peasant culture of Romania and the more respectable figures that we may label as proto-Europa, proto-Herakles, or proto- Orpheus”[26].

Indeed, one should hope that Professor Poruciuc's valuable research will find its place among the contemporary studies on the Southeast European heritage.

Bibliography

Ancient sources

APOLLODORUS *The Library,* translator J. G. Frazer. (1921) Harvard University Press, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/.

HESIOD *Theogony, Works and Days,* edited and translated by Glenn W. M., Harvard University Press. Cambridge, MA.

SNORRI Snorri, Sturluson, *The Prose Edda; North Mythology;* translated by Jesse Byock, Penguin, New York.

Studies

BAILEY, IVANOVA 1992 Bailey, J., Ivanova, T., *An Anthology of Russian Folk Epics,* M. E. Sharpe, Inc. Armonk, New York.

BRENNEMAN 1991 Brenneman, W., *Transformation and Symbolism in the Irish Celtic and Indo-European Cattle Raiding Myth: a Symbolic Analysis*, in: *JIES*, 19, No. 1-2.

BURKERT 1979 Burkert, W., *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual,* University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London.

CASARTELLI 1922 Casartelli, L. C., *Avestan urvan “soul”*, in: T. W. Arnold, R. A. Nicholson (eds), *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne on his 60th Birthday*, Cambridge, p. 127-128.

CHELARIU 2003 Chelariu, A. R., *Metafora metaforei; studiu de mitologie comparată*, Ed. Cartea Românească, București.

CHELARIU 2023 Chelariu A, R. *Romanian Folklore and its Archaic Heritage; a Cultural and Linguistic Comparative Study*, Springer Palgrave MacMillan.

[26] PORUCIUC 2010: 117.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

CLAUSON 1972 Clauson, G. S., *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*, Clarendon Press.

CONSTANTINESCU 1963 Constantinescu, N. A., *Dicționar Onomastic Romînesc*, Ed. Academiei, București.

DELAMARRE 2017 Delamare, X., *Iribanus, deus Cobannus*, in: A. Meruant (ed.), *Traditions indo-européennes et patrimoines folkloriques: mélanges offerts à Bernard Sergent*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 133-136.

DETSCHEW 1957 Detschew, D., *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

NICULIȚĂ-VORONCA 1998 Niculiţă-Voronca, E., *Datinele şi Credinţele Poporului Român,* Ed. Saeculum, Bucharest.

OREL 1998 Orel, V., *Albanian Etymological Dictionary.* Leiden, Boston, Koln, Brill.

PETROSYAN 2002 Petrosyan, A. Y., *The Indo-European and Ancient Near Eastern Sources of the Armenian Epic: Myth and History*, in: *JIES*, Monograph 42.

POKORNY 1959 Pokorny, J., *Indogermanisches etymologiscches worterbuch.* A. Francke. Verlag. Bern, Munich.

PORUCIUC 1998 Poruciuc, A., *Confluențe și Etimologii*, Ed. Polirom, Iași.

PORUCIUC 2008 Poruciuc, A., *Historical Implications of a Romanian Lexical Family of Old Germanic Origin (ban, banat, bani, banui, bântui)* in: *Mankind Quarterly*, Vol. XLVIII, 3, 353-395.

PORUCIUC 2008a Poruciuc, A., *Two Romanian terms (tureci and cioareci) based on Old Germanic designations of leg-coverings*, in: *JIES*, 36, 1-2, 163–184.

PORUCIUC 2008b Poruciuc, A., *Historical Implications of a Romanian Lexical Family of Old Germanic Origin (ban, bănat, băni, bănui, bântui),* in: *Mankind Quarterly*, Vol. XLVIII, 3, 353–395.

PORUCIUC 2009 Poruciuc, A., *Linguistic-Historical Implications of an Old Germanic Loan – Romanian gard 'fence, enclosure, weir, garden',* in: *Mankind Quarterly*, Vol. L, 1-2, 25–70.

PORUCIUC 2010 Poruciuc, A., *Prehistoric Roots of Romanian and Southeast European Traditions, volume I,* Institute of Archaeomythology, Sebastopol.

PORUCIUC 2011 Poruciuc, A., *Two Old Germenisms of East Romance (Romanian ateia "to dress up" and brândușa "crocus") confirmed by West Romance cognates,* in: *JIES*, 39, 3-4, 355-378.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

PORUCIUC 2012 Poruciuc, A., *Old Germanisms in the Balkans and in Other Parts of Europe* in: *Philologica Jassyensia*, VIII, 1 (15), 181−194.

PORUCIUC 2012a Poruciuc, A., *From archaeolinguistics to archaeomythology* – keynote lecture, Second. Archeoinvest Congress, Iaşi, 7–9 iunie 2012.

PORUCIUC 2015 Poruciuc, A. *Clues to the chronology of Old Germanic loans in Romanian and in other South-East European languages*, in: *Slavia Meridionalis*, 15, 14-31.

RUSSU 1967 Russu, I. I., *Limba traco-dacilor*, ediția a 2-a, Ed. Ştiințiƫfică și Enciclopedică, Bucuresti.

RUSSU 1969 Russu, I. I., *Illirii. Istoria – Limba și onomastica – Romanizarea*, Ed. Academiei, București.

RYAN, PITMAN 1998 Ryan, W., Pitman, W., *Noah's Flood: The New Scientific Discoveries About the Event that Changed History*, Simon & Schuster, New York.

VASMER 2008 Vasmer, M. J. F., The Etymological Dictionary of Russian Language, Online

VRABIE 1966 Vrabie, Gh., *Balada populară română,* Ed. Academiei Române, București.

VULCĂNESCU 1987 Vulcănescu, R., *Mitologie Românească,* Ed. Academiei Române, București.

WATKINS 1995 Watkins, C., *How to kill a Dragon; Aspects of Indo-European Poetics,* Oxford University Press, New York.

WEST 2007 West, M. L., *Indo-European Poetry and Myth,* Oxford University Press, New York.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro

honoraria 16

redigit Victor Spinei

1. *Scripta praehistorica. Miscellanea in honorem nonagenarii magistri Mircea Petrescu-Dîmboviţa oblata*, Ediderunt V. Spinei, C.-M. Lazarovici et D. Monah, Editura Trinitas, Iaşi, 2005, 652 p.
2. *Miscellanea Romano-Barbarica. In honorem septagenarii magistri Ion Ioniţă oblata*, Ediderunt V. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, C. Hriban, L. Munteanu, Editura Academiei Române, Bucureşti, 2006, 297 p.
3. *Studia historiae et religionis Daco-Romanae. In honorem Silvii Sanie*, Ediderunt L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, O. Bounegru, Editura Academiei Române, Bucureşti, 2006, 448 p.
4. *Miscellanea Numismatica Antiquitatis. In honorem septagenarii magistri Virgilii Mihailescu-Bîrliba oblata*, Ediderunt V. Spinei, L. Munteanu, Editura Academiei Române, Bucureşti, 2008, 253 p.
5. *Studia Antiqua et Medievalia. Miscellanea in honorem annos LXXV peragentis Professoris Dan Gh. Teodor oblata*, Edidit D. Aparaschivei, Editura Academiei Române, Bucureşti, 2009, 486 p.
6. *Historia sub specie aeternitatis. In honorem magistri Alexandru Zub*, Ediderunt V. Spinei et Gh. Cliveti, Editura Academiei Române – Editura Istros, Bucureşti-Brăila, 2009, 472 p.
7. *In medias res praehistoriae. Miscellanea in honorem annos LXV peragentis Professoris Dan Monah oblata*, Edidit G. Bodi, Editura Universităţii „Al. I. Cuza", Iaşi, 2009, 464 p.
8. *Studia varia in honorem Professoris Ştefan Ştefănescu octogenarii*, Ediderunt C. Luca et I. Cândea, Editura Academiei Române – Editura Istros, Bucureşti-Brăila, 2009, 906 p.
9. *Signa Praehistorica. Studia in honorem magistri Attila László septuagesimo anno*, Ediderunt N. Bolohan, F. Măţău et F.A. Tencariu, Editura Universităţii „Al. I. Cuza", Iaşi, 2010, 457 p.
10. *Retrospecții medievale. In honorem Professoris emeriti Ioan Caproșu*, Ediderunt V. Spinei, L. Rădvan, A.M. Bodale, Editura Universităţii „Al. I. Cuza", Iaşi, 2014, 653 p.
11. *Orbis Praehistoriae. Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița – in memoriam*, Ediderunt V. Spinei, N. Ursulescu, V. Cotiugă, Editura Universitații „Al. I. Cuza", Iași, 2015, 728 p.
12. *Studia numismatica et archaeologica. In honorem magistri Virgilii Mihailescu-Bîrliba oblata*, Ediderunt L. Munteanu, C.-D. Nicola, G.M. Talmaţchi, Editura Academiei Române – Editura Constantin Matasă, București-Piatra-Neamţ, 2018, 401 p.
13. *Studia Romana et Mediaevalia Europænsia. Miscellanea in honorem annos LXXXV peragentis Professoris emeriti Dan Gh. Teodor oblata*, Ediderunt D. Aparaschivei, G. Bilavschi, Editura Academiei Române – Editura Istros, București-Brăila, 2018, 484 p.
14. *Quaestiones Praehistoricae. Studia in honorem Professoris Vasile Chirica*, Ediderunt C.M. Lazarovici, Al. Berzovan, Editura Academiei Române – Editura Istros, București- Brăila, 2018, 295 p.
15. *Studia Praehistorica et Antiqua. Miscellanea in honorem Silvia Teodor*, Edidit Alexandru Berzovan, Editura Universității „Al. I. Cuza", Iași, 2020, 228 p.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro